1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

(8)

Kraal	Single men	Married men	Women	Male children	Female children	Total
Kipkurere	6	6	15	10	10	48
Sumiyo	22	10	20	16	13	101
Kolpai	26	19	17	9	9	76
	54	44	52	35	32	225

SOURCE: Huntingford, 1929, 1942, 1951, and unpublished material. There are no other sources for the Kipkurere Dorobo; and except in the case of the Kiking (p. 70 below) there is no material for a description of any other horde; nor are any other population figures available.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The North Tindiret Forest lies about five miles from the south-eastern boundary of the Nandi Land Unit, and rises from 7,000 ft. to over 9,000 ft. It consists of two great east-west ridges reaching an altitude of about 8,500 ft. divided by the deeply sunk river Kipkurere, "hollow (river)," the ridges merging some 12 miles from the western edge in the high ground round Timboroa which rises to over 9,000 ft. The region is dense evergreen "high forest," with trees of 100 ft. and over, and thick, impenetrable undergrowth growing to a height of 6 or 8 ft. The average rainfall on a farm two miles from the edge of the forest was 54.00 ins. over a period of nine years. Till within the last 25 years the Dorobo lived in small isolated settlements right inside the forest. Access was given by two parallel tracks across the south-western corner of the forest, and concealed paths branched off from them leading to the settlements. In addition to providing a permanent home, the forest was their wet-weather hunting ground; in dry weather the Dorobo used to hunt far afield over Nandi and the Uasin Gishu Plateau, and down to the Rift Valley. In 1937 they were removed from the forest, and a number of them (of domicile categories A and B) settled round the edge of the forest, along a narrow strip of grassland and bush that forms the upper edge of the farms which occupy the five-mile space between the forest and the Nandi Land Unit. But the intention of the Government had been to transfer the Dorobo to the Nandi Land Unit. This the Dorobo did not agree to, but their re-settlement along the edge of the forest was not officially accepted, and they lived there without legal rights unless they became squatters or casual labourers on the farms they settled on.

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY

Till disturbed by European settlement, the Dorobo had a purely hunting economy, though during the last 30 years they have been taking some interest in the acquisition of cattle and in small-scale cultivation. In their hunting days, their only livestock were bees and dogs.

HUNTING

The year was divided into two seasons, *maaiowak*, the dry weather, when they hunted game of all sorts with bow and arrow both in the forest and much farther afield; and *sweiet*, the wet weather, when they set traps in the forest. In the past they hunted buffalo and elephant, and lion were killed in the plains; leopard and pig are still hunted. Smaller game hunted and eaten include antelope and monkeys of all kinds: almost any kind of meat was eaten, except that of hyena, jackal, and

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.58--analyst]

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

other scavengers. Nowadays, all hunting activities are carried on illegally with the risk of being punished if caught by the police.

Weapons are the bow and poisoned arrows carried in a quiver. Knives are used to skin game and to make springes. Spears have never been used. The Dorobo used to have hunting dogs, but in the North Tinderet Forest the breed seems to have died out, though it existed in 1927. They have two kinds of trap: (i) The pit trap, *ngwet*, formerly used for buffalo, consisting of a pit 8 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, and 6 ft. deep, with wooden spikes set in the bottom. (ii) The springe or snare, *ferwet*, which consists, briefly, of a springy stick bent over, with a noose attached to it connected with a platform: the arrangement is such that when an animal treads on the platform its head enters the noose, and the pressure on the platform releases the springy stick, which flies up, tightening the noose, and holding the animal suspended. Such traps can be made in less than ten minutes. This type is used chiefly to catch antelopes, but leopards have been caught in them. Cross-bar traps with a drop-spear were not used by the Kipkurerek Dorobo.

The only hunting taboo recorded is that the night before he goes out hunting a man must abstain from sexual intercourse. This does not apply to the setting of traps.

As regards land rights, the forest was divided into districts, *kwost*, pl. *kwosuak*, and in his district each man had an hereditary block of land in which he hunted, set traps, kept his honey-barrels, and collected wild food. Occupation rights were recognised by public opinion, and trespass on a man's forest area, i.e., deliberate entry in order to start hunting without permission or the promise of a piece of meat, might result in the trespasser's death at the hands of the owner, who would then have to pay compensation for homicide. Theft of game from a trap is said never to have occurred, not only because the thief might be killed, but because his belly would swell to a great size and he would die after eating meat stolen from a trap.

Bees

Honey is to the Dorobo what milk is to the Nandi: it is "sacred," and its supply must be protected by the observance of taboos. Fruit and blood must not be eaten on the same day as honey (though meat may be eaten); when a comb is emptied, it must be carefully hidden in the undergrowth; and after eating honey a Dorobo cleans his hands in earth, not (like the Nandi) by wiping them with leaves.

The Dorobo recognise four varieties of bee: *sekemik*, the honey-producing kind; *imuik*, solitary bees which live in trees; *koromuk*, earth bees, which live in the ground; and *kiptaloswik*, mason bees, which live in cells made of earth and particles of stone cemented together by their own saliva. The Dorobo divide the honey-bees, *sekemik*, into three kinds: the queen, *kowet ap sekemik*, "the mother of the bees"; the workers, called simply *sekemik*, considered to be males, which make honey by eating the "sap" (*pek*) of flowers and then vomiting it into the empty honey-combs; and the drones, *kapsweik*, considered to be idle females which do nothing useful.

Hives or honey-barrels (*pesuset*) are made either of slats of wood tied together, with circular wooden end-pieces; or of the two halves of a piece of log split longitudinally and tied together. They are set in trees, and when a new hive is put up, the owner calls the bees, in a high-pitched tone, to come and occupy it: "Bees, bees, from all the country, come here now, and pour in honey, pour in honey." Bees are said to recognise their owners by their body-smell, and do not sting them when taking honey. Certainly taking honey does not appear to be a painful or dangerous process to the Dorobo owner. Theft of honey from a barrel is considered very low, and a man might kill a thief, though he would have to pay compensation for homicide.

Honey is an important article in Dorobo economy: it is eaten as food, made into an intoxicant, used for ritual purification, and it forms an article of commerce.

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

585 [237] [591] that cow-dung be used for both the *tumdo* and *koronet*, and if there are no cattle in the bridegroom's settlement it must be procured from somewhere else. Marriage is patrilocal.

Marriage with Nandi

582 C48 Eighteen marriages were recorded in genealogies between Dorobo and Nandi or members of the Nandi group:

Dorobo and Nandi women: 6	Dorobo and Nandi men: 10
Dorobo and Keyo women: 1	Dorobo and Keyo men: 1
Dorobo and Terik women: 1	

Marriage of Dorobo women to outsiders seems to be due to the poverty of the Dorobo, which in these cases would have meant that the women would have remained unmarried; such marriages also mean the accession of stock to the Dorobo.

Polygyny

595 [587] Although there is no objection to polygyny, Dorobo seldom have the means of acquiring more than one wife at a time, though several cases occurred of re-marriage after a wife's death or desertion. In one genealogy a woman had no less than four successive husbands, none of them her husband's brother, and her only issue was one daughter.

Re-marriage of Widows

587 Unlike the Nandi, the Dorobo recognise the re-marriage of widows in the normal manner on payment of bridewealth to their fathers, brothers, or other representatives; it is, however, unusual. Widows normally live with their husband's brothers, return to their parents, or else live alone.

Divorce

586 Divorce is rare, and is of one kind only—permanent. The husband can claim the return of the bridewealth. But a wife who has borne a child cannot be divorced for any cause whatsoever.

Birth

843 [834] 844 846 862 845 [724] Intercourse between husband and wife stops at the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, and is not resumed till the child is about six months old. Birth takes place in the husband's hut, the husband going to live elsewhere nearby. The wife is attended by a *midwife*, *ngaiteyonit*, and her mother is present if possible. She stays in the hut for six or seven days after the birth, and the child's body must be kept covered for several weeks, even the father being allowed to see only its face. The mother must be purified by her husband, who kills a goat (which he must acquire somehow if he has none of his own) and rubs the fat and undigested grass (*siyat*) from the stomach on her face, breasts, and belly. Children are weaned at the age of about a year. Twins are not liked, and the mother's ritual uncleanness caused by their birth must be removed by the killing of a goat which is eaten by the mother and her women friends. The Dorobo say that if a man has set a trap at the time when his wife bears twins, the trap will never again catch an animal.

553 [796] [882] Children receive their first name, the spirit-name, soon after birth; as among the Nandi, this name is not used, but links the child with a protecting spirit. The second or principal name is given before the child can walk, at the time when it is first given solid food, and is called "porridge name" in imitation of the Nandi custom. Children may also be given nicknames which often refer to some physical peculiarity. After circumcision, boys become *Arap*, son of, eldest sons taking their

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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possibly these Dorobo had been poor Masai, who, having lost their cattle, had taken to hunting, is probably the correct one. It would appear likely that the Dorobo in question were *Balaŋga*, though Sir Claud was unable to satisfy himself as to their true origin.

The original *Balaŋga* are stated to have come from the Kisongo [1] district of the Masai. It may be that this is the case, as the name Kisongo originally stood for a very large tract of country—in fact, almost the whole area occupied to-day by the Masai of Tanganyika Territory. It is certain that there now are *Balaŋga* Dorobo with the Masai throughout the length and breadth of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve, and it becomes more difficult daily to find *Balaŋga* who still devote themselves to hunting. Even those who own little or no stock prefer to live with their richer brethren or with the Masai. The younger men have never led a bush life. They carry spears [2] (and, when appropriate, shields) and do not care to be reminded of the fact that they were ever other than the Masai.

Occasionally, when an elephant or other large beast is killed by the European sportsman, a few old men (Masai, to all outward seeming) will make their appearance unobtrusively, generally accompanied by donkeys. Having obtained permission, they will proceed to rip and hack away huge quantities of the flesh with a determination and cheerful abandon seldom to be met with in the Masai. When the donkeys have been loaded with as much meat as they can carry, the old gentlemen will quietly depart, bound, presumably, for a banquet of Gargantuan proportions. Should one ask, they will admit shyly that they are *Balaŋga*, but will almost always add: "We are now Masai again."

I think there can be no doubt that the Masai and the *Balaŋga* are one and the same. The opinions of the Masai (notoriously unwilling to admit the equality of others) and the *Balaŋga* themselves are unanimous on the matter, and I have been unable to discover any shred of evidence to the contrary. It would appear reasonable to assume that the *Balaŋga* are the

[1] Cf. Hollis: *Masai Language and Folklore*: pp. 260, 261. The name would seem to be restricted, nowadays, to an area south-west and west of Arusha. (Map reference: B 5; Kilimanjaro: E, F, I, K.)

[2] The spear would not seem to be an indigenous Dorobo weapon.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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duration of which is in inverse ratio to its toothsomeness and the severity of the cook's hunger.

The Masai are good to the *Mósiro* and seldom refuse them a share in whatever food is obtainable—be it milk, meat or grain. The *Mósiro* expect this; in fact, many of them seem to look on free rations from the Masai as their right. The reason for this is stated to be that the *Mósiro* helped the Masai on many occasions in the past (particularly during the great rinderpest epidemic in the early 'nineties) by hunting for them when starvation had overcome the ingrained antipathy of the Masai to venison. In addition, before the coming of European rule many elephants were killed by the *Mósiro* at the request of the Masai. Lekite told me of one drive in which he and about thirty *Mósiro* were engaged during which sixteen elephants were killed.

When a *Mósiroi* obtained cattle he used, unless restrained by his more prudent friends, to slaughter and eat them in the shortest possible time. Up to quite recently, a beast was valued by the *Mósiroi* only for the amount of meat it was capable of providing, but nowadays a few of them are beginning to herd cattle in a small way and some even live as Masai. It is interesting to note that many of the older generation, particularly the women, profess an aversion to having cattle in the vicinity of their own dwelling- or sleeping-places.

A few *Mósiro* till the land, but in a half-hearted way. They are extremely improvident and prefer to risk almost inevitable famine rather than to exert themselves in cultivating grain. They never expect their women to work in such small plantations as they may have. A *Mósiroi* will cheerfully tramp the bush for a week or more, picking up a most precarious existence on tubers and roots, and will consider himself well repaid if he returns with a few pounds of honey. He will be horrified at the idea of putting in one hour's work each day on a mealie patch for the same length of time.

In the bush, very little in the way of food comes amiss to the *Mósiroi*. Failing meat, his favourite food is honey, but this is regarded as a delicacy and would be eaten wholesale only under the most exceptional circumstances. If meat and honey are unobtainable, the *Mósiroi* has at his command an extensive

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knowledge of roots, leaves, berries and tubers of all kinds, on many of which he is capable of supporting life.

Various kinds of honey are obtained in large quantities and they command a ready sale among the Masai, who are, for the most part, too indolent to look for honey themselves. The *Mósiro* are greatly assisted by the honey-bird [1] in their search and do not appear to suffer much inconvenience when stung. The honey is generally removed by hand, the despoiler working placidly in a cloud of angry, stinging bees. Occasionally a tree has to be felled, and in some cases the honey may be so inaccessible that fire has to be resorted to for the purpose of driving the bees away. Thick clouds of smoke are readily produced by the use of the *Endulee* [2] which every *Mósiroi* carries in his quiver.

With regard to the dress of the men, the *Mósiro* are seldom to be found wearing skins. I have seen *Mósiro* wearing a single garment of rough bark-cloth, knotted at the shoulder in the manner of the Masai blanket, but as a general rule their dress consists of a ragged strip of "Amerikani" or blanket, weather-worn in the extreme, tied over one shoulder and confined at the waist by the sword-belt. They say that they no longer wear skins because the latter make too much noise in the bush and lessen their chances of approaching close to game. The women wear a skin garment [3] of the same kind as that worn by the Masai women. They also wear anklets and armlets of wire, but the heavy iron necklaces and *'surutya* earrings of the Masai women are seldom, if ever, seen. It may

[1] *Cuculus Indicator*: a small drab bird about the size of the thrush. It has a short, but very sharp, bill, a white underside and black-striped wings. Its distinctive twittering is often heard in the bush, particularly in the vicinity of bush paths and other places it knows are likely to be frequented by humans. It flies from tree to tree, keeping up its twittering all the time, and is obviously anxious to be followed. I have followed this bird several times, and although honey was not always found at the end of the trail, it invariably led us to places where bees were or had been some time before. The *Mósiro* always answer the cries of this bird, even when they have no opportunity of following it. There are many legends about the honey-bird, which, I think, is to be met with throughout East Africa. The Swahili call this bird *Sego*; the Masai call it *En-jokóroi*; the *Mósiro* name it *Chekeandes*; the Nandi, *Chepkechs*.

[2] See the section devoted to Dorobo arms and equipment.

[3] *Ol-okessedi* (Masai).

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enormously developed maxillary muscles. Individual physical peculiarities are not readily apparent when pigtails are almost universally grown and bodies are smeared with red ochre. The Nilotic peculiarity of standing on one leg has been observed in the *Mósiro*, but it is not seen so often as in the case of the Masai. I have been unable to discover any examples of pronounced steatopygia in the women, who are, usually, more prolific than the Masai women, and who are prized by the Masai for this reason. The *Mósiro* are a hardy race, and even at a comparatively advanced age the men retain great powers of activity and endurance.

The older generation (in common with the Masai elders) pays little attention to its personal appearance. *Mósiro* of a certain age would seem to be less under Masai influence than are the young men and are readily distinguishable from the Masai at first sight. (It might, perhaps, be as well to modify this by saying that an eye unaccustomed to looking on Masai will often fail to detect any difference between them and Dorobo of any type. Recently, I made the experiment of asking two Europeans from the coast to separate the Masai from the Dorobo in a mixed gathering. Each of them made a different selection and each of them was wrong in the majority of cases.)

In hunting, tracking, bush-lore and forest-craft the *Mósiroi* is, in my opinion, without equal when in familiar country. He seems to know instinctively what an animal will do under given circumstances, and inability to follow its track will seldom result in the pursuit being abandoned. If the ground is stony or if the passage of other animals has obliterated the trail, the *Mósiroi* will go quietly forward and will eventually, by a combination of luck, instinct and knowledge of the country and the habits of the quarry, pick up the spoor again. I have seen this happen many times. The *Mósiroi* knows when extreme caution must be observed and when noise does not matter; he is never at a loss for a vantage-point and, on the whole, is tenacious and plucky in the pursuit of dangerous game. He can summon lion to a kill by producing a weird, muffled, nasal cry (it is supposed to represent the bleating of a goat, though it has little resemblance to that noise, to my

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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mind) made by placing the forefingers on either side of the nose and calling into the hollow formed by the palms of the joined hands.[1]

The *Mósiro* are fast and accurate bowmen at close range, and there are few of them who have not accounted for more than one lion with this weapon. A *Mósiroi* at present in my employ is credited with having killed thirteen lions thus, three of them with one arrow. The arrows, of course, are poisoned,[2] and are discharged with a force that would, I feel sure, excite the admiration of a European toxophilite. A curious, crouching attitude is adopted when drawing the bow-string and the archer faces his target, not adopting the more usual position of standing at a right angle to it. The killing of a lion with the bow is not regarded as an event of especial importance and the carcass is often left to rot in its skin.

If trouble is in the wind, the *Mósiroi* will always make for the haven he knows best—the bush. There he will live, apparently quite independent of the products of civilisation, and in nowise inconvenienced by a total lack of water, for weeks at a stretch, returning (when the trouble has blown over) with a skin bottle or bag bulging with honey. I could not understand the apparent ability of the *Mósiro* to live for long periods in country I knew to be waterless until I had been introduced to what they laughingly said was "the dry-season water." This is an enormous tuber[3] with a skin like the domestic potato. Under the skin is a milky, sticky layer about half-an-inch in thickness. This surrounds the inner core, which is of the appearance and consistency of a raw potato, is slightly fibrous and very moist. When this is chewed (the residue is not generally, but may be, swallowed), it gives great relief to thirst. Squeezing or pounding one of these tubers over a cooking-pot will result in the accumulation of a surprising amount of quite

[1] My predecessor at Kibaya shot two male lions which were "called" to a kill in this way by the *Mósiro*. He sat beneath a tree at a place where two lions had recently killed; the *Mósiro* mounted the tree and began calling. After a short time, one lion came to the kill (a goat) and was shot. The second lion came quite soon afterwards and was duly given his quietus.

[2] See the section devoted to Dorobo arms.

[3] This tuber, called *Kicherembwos*, is also known to the Kitšto Masai and is called by them *Ol-kiserímbwa*. This is a corruption of the *Mósiro* name, and the Masai freely admit that they learned of its existence from the Dorobo.

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193 women and they ours. Now we live with our cattle like the Masai." This account is far from enlightening, and when Serkala states that the *Aramanik* live as Masai, I fancy he is making too sweeping an assertion. Admittedly, the *Aramanik* of Moipo live as Masai, and so do many *Aramanik* in the central areas of Tanganyika Masailand, but I suggest that the Dorobo living at the north end of Lake Eyasi and those on the Serenget' plain (north-west of the Ngorongoro localities), who live a purely bush life, are also *Aramanik*.[1] Lekite was positive in the assertion that all the Dorobo living as such in the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and, furthermore, all the Dorobo in the Kenya Masai Reserve,[2] are *Aramanik*. I have had no opportunity of testing the accuracy of this statement. However, I do not think it likely that there can be yet another type of Dorobo unknown to those individuals from whose information the present notes have been compiled. If my assumption be correct, I think it may well be that *Aramanik* and *Balanga* (the latter possibly under a different name) constitute the bulk of the Dorobo in Kenya, and that the Dorobo inhabitants of the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve are almost all *Aramanik*.

The *Aramanik* at Moipo are not fishermen. They do not eat fish, but they are very partial to the meat and fat of the hippopotamus.[3] They do little hunting nowadays and are, both young men and elders, rapidly becoming indistinguishable from the Masai. The *Aramanik* living further north (notably those to the west of the Rift Wall at Sanjan, Salei and Peiáya) live a bush life of hunting and honey-gathering and are not above shooting a Masai ox when the chance presents itself.[4] They are extremely shy people and I have had little chance of establishing contact with them.

The most remarkable thing about the *Aramanik* is their language. It is guttural in the extreme, and while there would seem to be few of the characteristics of the Masai or *Mósiro*

[1] See p. 131, *loc. cit.* The Dorobo seen by Sir Claud Hollis may, alternatively, have been *Aramanik*.

[2] About 4000 in number.

[3] I have been unable to discover a single individual among the Masai and the Dorobo of all kinds who does not regard the eating of fish as anathema.

[4] According to unauthenticated statements made by certain Masai.

2: Maguire G5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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have lived in the country of the Kitĕto Masai, since they are stated to have been the precursors of the Masai in this part of the world.

I was unable to elicit any folk-tales from the *Aramanik*, who say that they know no stories or legends except those they have learned from the Masai. It is possible that further efforts in this direction might meet with better success. The *Aramanik* are not as friendly or as ready to discuss their own affairs as are the cheerful, happy-go-lucky *Mósiro*.

Many Masai superstitions and superstitious practices are to be found among the Dorobo. There are, however, certain customs and observances of a superstitious nature practised only by the Dorobo. Of the following three examples, the last two given are in his category.

The *Mósiro* will not kill a python. They say it is a hunter of meat, as are they themselves. Furthermore, if it be killed, the ground where it dies and where its blood is split is ever afterwards fatal to cattle grazing there.[1] No explanation is given of this, and it would seem worthy of note that the Dorobo are exceptionally quick and skilful killers of all other snakes.

When following a native path or a road, if a Dorobo comes to the place where the track of a snake crosses the path, he will never step over it without first kicking up the sand or earth in order to break the continuity of the snake's track. This is done in order to avert evil, and is stated to be the only efficacious way of ensuring that the snake in question will not eventually kill the man who has crossed its path.[2]

If a Dorobo has been robbed and if the thief cannot be found, the following procedure is sometimes resorted to. The man who has suffered the loss heats his sword in the fire until it is red and then, plunging it into the earth, he says: "The thief shall die to-morrow." This is regarded as a very bad practice and is seldom indulged in, as the injured party, no matter how much he may have lost, knows that he will become extremely unpopular as a result of his action.

It seems likely that in a few years' time there will be no *Balañga* and no *Kinyalañgat* Dorobo. As I have said elsewhere, it is now almost impossible to find *Balañga* or *Kinya-*

[1] See Hollis: *The Nandi*, p. 80.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Hunting.

224 The chief occupation and, in fact, till the last few years, the only occupation of the Dorōbo, is hunting (*sagas*: Kony. *kip-sagas-ian* = hunter). They say that at the present day they do not hunt as much as they used to. All kinds of animals were the objects of the chase; the buffalo (*kiptarorōt*; N. *soiet*), rhinoceros (*kip-komit*), leopard (*melilto*, N.), lion (*sombit*; *ñgetuindo* N.,) giant pig (*tumda*, N.) were among the bigger game hunted. Various kinds of monkeys and antelopes are also sought after, both for their skins and their meat. (*See* "Food" for a list of the animals eaten by the Dorōbo.)

[411] The weapons used in the chase are the bow (*kuyañgda*, N.) and arrow (*kūtick*, N; *mbunatit*, etc.), and spears (*olmorondoit*†). Arrows and spears for hunting are
[278] poisoned with a concoction made from the keliot tree (N.).[1] Formerly, before the elephant disappeared from the Tindiret region it was hunted and killed with poisoned spears. Small game, besides being shot, are also caught in traps and snares, of which the Dorōbo have two kinds; buffalo are also caught in the first kind: (1) Pits (*nguret*), covered with thin sticks and leaves, with spikes (*kipcaiyeinat*) set in the bottom. (2) Snares (*porōset*; N. *mestet*) (Text-fig. 25), which are constructed as follows: a springy stick, A, is stuck in the ground and bent over; to its upper end is fastened a piece of tree-rope, B, which is loosely attached to a hooped stick stuck in the ground, supported by three short upright sticks; a little lower down the bent stick A is fastened a noose made from the ndorokyat tree, which is held in place by a cleft stick stuck in the ground on each side; under the noose is made a little platform of sticks, which is covered with leaves. When this platform is touched, since it is in contact with the stick holding the rope B, it releases the rope, and the stick A flies up, thereby tightening the noose.

[231] Dogs (*ñgôkto*, pl. *ñgôkik*) are used in hunting, and are the only animals kept by the Dorōbo who live in the forest. When in the forest they wear leather collars, to which are attached, under the throat, a small bell. The dogs seem to be of a different breed to the ordinary thin-nosed cur so common in native reserves, and they are kept in better condition. Their excrement round the huts takes the place of cow-dung in the neighbourhood of a Nandi hut, and makes the air unpleasant.

A description of the weapons is given on p. 346 below.

Food.

262 The staple foods of the Dorōbo are honey (*kumiat*, N.) and meat (*panyek*, N.).
136 For meat they kill the following animals:—

Antelopes.

Kipkeseket (N. *kimerenget*,).—Blue duiker (*Cephalophus æquatorialis*).
Mindet (N.).—Red duiker (*C. igna-issaci*).

[1] *Acocanthera Schimperi.*

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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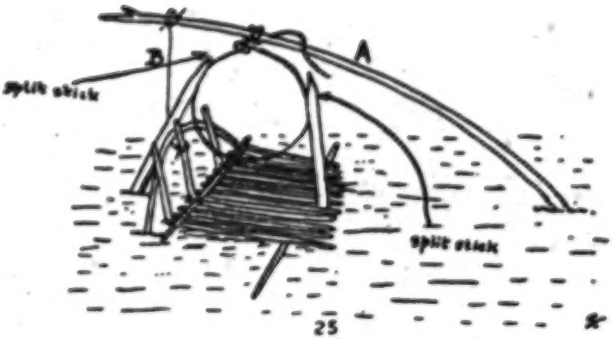

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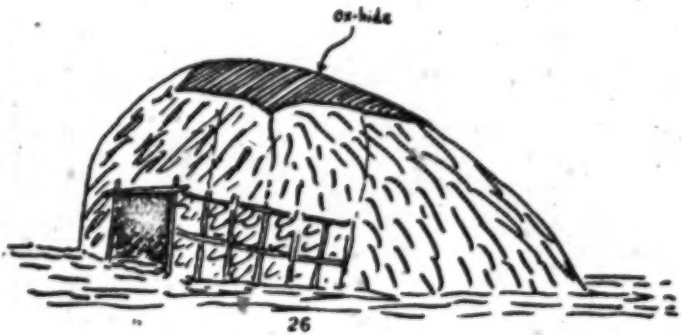

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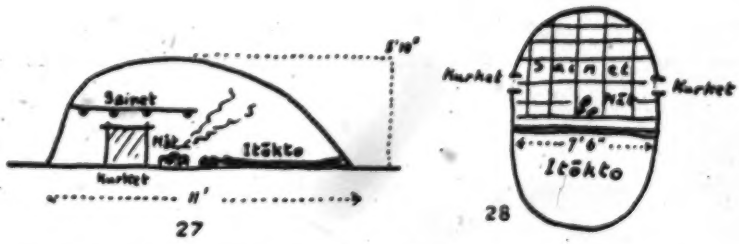

27 28

FIG. 25.—GAME SNARE (*porôuvi*). FIG. 26.—HUT (*kochongei*). FIG. 27.—SECTION OF HUT.
FIG. 28.—PLAN OF HUT.

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133 9000 feet, watered by one main river, the Kipkurere, with its tributaries, and other streams which rise in the forest and flow down into Nandi.

133 137 361 The country which the Dorobo claim as their own is part of the North Tindiret Forest Reserve. Most of it is dense forest with tall trees and thick undergrowth; and till recently most of the Dorobo lived right inside it. Their settlements were isolated, though often not very far removed spatially from one another; but they were separated by a solid wall of trees, of which a few hundred yards form a more effective barrier than a mile of open country. Even in the past, however, the Dorobo did not live exclusively inside the forest, and on the southern side overlooking the Meteitei valley in particular, where the Nandi were less frequent, they often lived in glades near the edge of the forest. Thus the chief settlement of the district called [103] Sosoiyo was situated between the forest proper and the belt of flat-topped acacia thorn trees which surrounds it. Those who preferred to live in the open, however, still kept close to the forest, and a strip of thorn and scrub kept them well enough concealed from the outside world. A man who lived thus, though still close to his trees, might escape some of the damp of the forest, and was just as well placed for hunting and trapping as those who lived inside. In the old days, when there were only Nandi about them, people could live in or out of the forest as they pleased, and could alternate between forest and glade according to season or preference. Nowadays they [648] are not allowed by the Government to live in the forest, and those who survive and still cling to their own land, living on the surrounding farms as labourers or by charity of the farmers, are all settled as close to the boundary of the forest reserve as they can get, and seldom are they more than 500 yards from it. This boundary is marked by a broad strip from which the bushes and grass are cut, and it acts both as a line of demarcation and as a firebreak.

● 224 In the old days, Dorobo used to range far from their permanent homes to hunt, coming down to the plains which in those days were swarming with game of all sorts. The Dorobo of the Eastern Mau, Mount Kenya, and Saleta used to descend to the floor of the Rift Valley to hunt, for the only inhabitants were scattered Masae whom it was easy to avoid; and the Kipkurerek wandered at will over the Uasin Gishu plateau, also thinly inhabited by Masae, and latterly, during the second half of the 19th century, by still less frequent Nandi herdsmen. Even thirty years ago the Plateau carried a good deal of game, and before the coming of the European it was a hunter's paradise.

648 To-day, the Kipkurerek Dorobo are the survivors of a once flourishing and autonomous horde which has lost both its land and the right to its own identity. It was decided by the Government, for several reasons, that the Dorobo should be removed from the forest and settled in Nandi. They were transferred in 1937; but the transaction was not a success, for both Dorobo and Nandi resented the movement, and in a short time the Dorobo were back round the forest, where they were living up to 1940 without any legal right unless as squatters or labourers.

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gaining his position through the tacit recognition of the people. The horde therefore consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly because they "are all Dorobo", but much more by the clan-solidarity which extends across the district boundaries. The clan is thus a far more important institution than it is among the Nandi.

The Dorobo are a hunting people who have been forced to take up agriculture, and at the same time are in process of acquiring a small amount of live stock. A great deal of their culture and most of their language have been borrowed from the Nandi; but their habits and mental characteristics are their own, including a "hunting outlook" which contrasts with the "cattle outlook" of the pastoralist, and a feeling of sympathy with wild animals that does not exist among either pastoralists or agriculturalists. Next in importance to hunting come bees, and honey is regarded much as pastoral people regard milk.

Although the Dorobo are commonly thought of as a people who wander at will wherever there is game, this notion is true only to a limited extent. Parties used to go far afield in the old days seeking game outside their own territory in the sparsely inhabited areas of the highlands; but their own forest was and still is divided into strictly observed economic areas where are family holdings in which people hunt, set traps, keep their bees, and collect vegetable food. These areas may look small on the map; but anyone who thinks that half an inch on a map (representing perhaps one mile on the ground) seems a very short distance, will find when he gets to the forest that one mile on the ground is a very formidable tract offering all sorts of possibilities for the hunter, and infinite chances for the stranger to lose himself.

Appendix

Analysis of the Census

District	Single men	Married men	Women	Male children	Female children	Totals
Kipkurom	8	6	15	10	10	49
Sosoiyo	22	19	26	16	19	102
Kelpui	25	19	17	9	5	75
	55	44	58	35	34	226

Analysis of Domicile Categories

Domicile category	Kipkurom	Sosoiyo	Kelpui	% of Total	Totals
A	0	13	0	6	13
B	33	59	46	61	138
C	16	24	17	25	57
D	0	3	12	7	15
Unknown	0	3	0	1	3
	49	102	75	100	226

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you are a spirit". A man who kills a snake at night in his hut need not necessarily become ill as a result (as the Nandi believe he will), but the ancestor whose spirit was in the snake will show his anger by never going to see the man again and transferring his attentions to some other member of the family. This would no doubt result in bad luck, for the offender would be continually conscious of what he had done. Another account, however, which I think more nearly represents the common belief, is that after offering a snake honey-and-water or milk, the owner of the hut says to it: *Ui si nyon tun ingoii lakwet*, "Go and return when (my wife) bears a child", so that the name of the spirit may be given to the child. According to this account, if a man should kill a snake at night in his hut, he will probably be ill the next day unless he pours some honey-wine on the floor where the snake had been in the night. This should free him from the danger of illness. Snakes seen in the daytime may be killed without fear.

The spirits also appear in daylight as shadows (*uruet*) and they may make their presence known by slight noises, like the sound of a stick being broken. When a man sees an unaccountable shadow, or hears a noise for which he can see no cause, he concludes that it was a spirit which has come to see him, or perhaps just come up to take a walk on earth. But he need do nothing, nor need he be afraid, for at such times the spirits do no harm.

Before setting out to hunt, a man asks the spirits to help him:

Cesowiliik, ohõnec tiony ne kipare,
Spirits, give-us animal which we-may-kill;
ohõnec kumik si kiipiiye.
Give-us honey enough-to-satisfy-us.

Offerings of honey-and-water, *lokomek*, are sometimes poured on the ground from gourds with a request to the spirits to provide food in times of scarcity. Such offerings are made by people at their own homes when their affairs are going badly:

Cesowiloi, opiiyec omõii,
Spirits, fill-us-with food,
si kiipiiye sapot.
That we-may-be-filled-with health.

When a man is very ill, he sometimes sees what he takes to be another man lying beside him for a short time, who is invisible to other people. When he has recovered, he realizes that this other man was a spirit who had come to help him to get well, and to take into himself the sickness: *Konyon si korîpe, korn ne korue clio ne mioni, si kosop*, "He came to guard him, and lay where the sick man lay, to make him well".

Evil spirits sometimes attack people when asleep and make them ill. They also play tricks on people and do spiteful and irritating things to them. A man is walking, for example, and suddenly catches his foot, as he thinks, in a liana drawn tight across the path, and falls. But he finds nothing there, and realizes that it was done by an evil spirit. In 1927 I was one night encamped on the edge of the forest between Kipkorom and Timopo, with

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the forces of nature, a belief which (I am convinced) does have the effect of giving him confidence in his ability to deal with an imperfectly understood world. All those parts of human life in which there is an element of uncertainty or danger can be "controlled" by means of magic, not always completely, but with enough coincidental result to confirm the belief that what has been done is the right thing to do and to keep on doing.

The main occupation of the Dorobo was hunting. Unfortunately this is one of the things we know least about, because owing to external pressure the Dorobo have had to give up real hunting and now confine themselves to trapping. It was therefore impossible to get hold of anything more than a few allusions to the hunting magic of the old days. On the one hand, fear of the government has undoubtedly sealed the lips of some of the older Dorobo, for hunting is now forbidden, and they were afraid, quite mistakenly, that if they talked about it, they might get into trouble, as people might think they were still hunting; and on the other hand, ignorance prevents the younger men from talking about it, for most of them have never hunted in the real sense of the word. But there was hunting magic. There was, for example, not only a seasonal division of hunting activities, but a magical division as well. In the dry weather people used to hunt far afield with bow and arrow; in the wet weather they set traps close to home. Now from the magical point of view it is the bow and arrow work that needs help, for in it there is an element of danger to the hunter, and of uncertainty as to whether he will make a kill. In trapping, the process is mechanical, a mere matter of being able to make a trap. All that need be done is to set the trap and wait: sooner or later it will catch something without any danger to the trapper. So when a man was going out with bow and arrow he had to abstain from sexual intercourse immediately before setting out on an expedition, lest the act should put him into mystical danger. Prayers and the observation of omens before going out gave a man further confidence. But when setting traps this abstinence is not necessary.

We have already come across a good deal of magic. The forms of purification after killing people, for instance, are magical as much as religious; so is the cleansing of women after childbirth; and all sorts of things people do in daily life are nothing else but manifestations of the belief in the efficacy of magic. When a man puts a new honey-barrel into a tree and calls out to the bees to enter it, his call is as much a magical utterance as a mere invitation to enter his barrel.

Omens include the following:

If the birds called *kiptiltil* and *kiphuuhuu* or *kiphoukou* (both species of woodpecker) are seen or heard on the right hand side when starting out to hunt or on a journey, a man will be successful; but if they are on the left, he will be unsuccessful.

If a snake crosses the path from right to left, having first been seen lying still on the side of the path, it is a bad sign, and a man should return home and wait till the next day. But a snake which is seen in the act of crossing a path is of no significance, "for it also is travelling".

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Maintenance of ritual relations with the spirits is effected by the recognized offerings made to them; and with 'nature', on which the food supply depends, by other means (see below).

The World Order. In the myths related at the beginning of § 5, the thunder plays an important part, and is even portrayed as a man. One might almost assume from this that he was believed to be an earth-dweller who began a second life in the sky as the thunder-god who controls the rain, for the notions of rain, mist, and thunder are all interwoven, and the rainbow is "the arm of *Ilet* that draws water for him". These myths reflect the Dorobo attitude of the people to their surroundings. One of the chief features of the forest is heavy rain and frequent mist, and it would be surprising if we did not find among them the conception of some sort of rain-being who brought mist. Again, since rain is plentiful and droughts rare, the rainmaker is not needed, and although the lowest known rainfall, 28 inches in 1933 at a place two miles from the edge of the forest (and probably a little higher in the forest), would indeed constitute a drought year elsewhere, in the absence of both crops and cattle an occasional low rainfall does not matter so long as there is enough to make the plants flower. Even a heavy rainfall of 70 inches or over does no more than cause temporary inconvenience where there are no crops to be damaged and the slopes prevent flooding. The Tindiret forest is, in fact, an ideal place for hunters to live in. However prolonged the dry season, the conditions for wild life are better there than in the open plains below, and low rainfall has never yet prevented a supply of game to hunt or trap. Whether the people are able to kill enough game to ensure a supply of food is another matter, and the inter-relation is not so much that between man and nature in general, but between man and the animals. Man's wrong-doing is thought to produce either a failure of the supply of animals, or his inability to kill or catch what is there in abundance.

Social Values. Things which are important to man because they are indispensable to him have what is called a social value as well as a ritual value, because between man and them there is created a relationship which man must maintain if he is not to suffer. The food supply of a hunting people is got from day to day and depends on the skill of the hunter. It is uncertain, because on any given day the hunter may not find game, or having found it may not kill. But precarious as such a life might seem, there is no evidence that in the past there was often any great scarcity from either of these two causes. The old men say, in fact, that whereas food is scarce under present-day conditions, in the old days when hunting was not restricted it was, if not always abundant, at least enough. Such a statement is not, I think, merely an exaggerated memory of better days, the outcome of a longing to get back to the forest, but it explains in part the otherwise remarkable scarcity of hunting magic and ritual procedure. Some hunting magic there certainly was, and fear and ignorance prevent free talk about it; but it is clear that when the food supply throughout the centuries is found adequate,

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an elaborate ritual will not be built up to increase or protect it. What is expected, and what one does indeed find, is that the hunters will take what steps they can to keep on the right side of these beings which can hinder them or destroy their technical skill.

Wild animals which supply both food and the raw material for technical and domestic processes have social value, and by 1930 cattle and goats were beginning to acquire it, though they were so recently introduced as Dorobo possessions that very little in the way of ritual practices concerning them had developed. Wild animals of almost every kind are of some use to the Dorobo, and while it cannot be asserted that there is actual ritual expression towards many of them, there is nevertheless a not very clearly defined or indeed definable feeling of nearness, almost of kinship with them. This was revealed by listening to conversations between Dorobo as they went through the forest, and demonstrated the intensity of their interest in the animal life of the place, as well as their immediate appreciation of almost invisible signs which the Nandi (and of course myself) passed without even noticing. Although the animals of the forest are wild, and the property of no man, in the sense that cattle are property, the Dorobo feel a proprietary interest in them, especially when they are in a man's own section of the forest. It is clear that they have a feeling for the animals which may be described as "fondness", the nearest (though not very adequate) English rendering of the untranslateable word *consist*; and that they regard them as intelligent beings, not on the human level, but none the less worthy of respect and friendliness. They are spoken of without loathing, disgust or contempt; and whereas the reaction of the average Nandi to the sight of a buck or its spoor is merely a gleam of greed and lust for meat, the reaction of the Dorobo is much more than that. He no doubt thinks it would be nice to eat, but at the same time he wants to know all about it, where it came from, where it was going, and so forth, and even if he has no intention of hunting it, he will examine the ground to find out all he can, for although only an animal it is one of the living things which share the forest with him. One Dorobo did in fact try to describe his attitude to wild life in the following words:

Sue kulok cepo tukul. Cemo Okiek ni koswen
They-know the-fact which-are-of all. They-like the-Dorobo that they-may-see
tiosik. Ma yaaren tiosik, emo kimenye tukul kuskenge samakin.
the-animals. Not bad the-animals, for we-dwell-in all together the-forest.
Ngomost ap tiosik ma ne nepo pii, ako ma lot, emo nomon
Intelligence of the-animals not like that-which-is-of men, but not far, for intelligent
ok icek tiosik. Kuske tukul tiond ap samak. Kiomo alak, makiomo
also they the-animals. Alike every animal of forest. We-eat some, we-eat-not
alak; ako kiomo tukul. Ki po samak, ok icek ce po samak.
others; but we-like all. We-are of forest, and they which(are) of forest.

(The Dorobo know the spoor of all the animals, and they like also to see the animals. The animals are not bad, for we all dwell in the forest together. The intelligence of the animals is not like that of people, but it is not very

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The Dorobo divide the year into two parts, *Musiowik*, the dry season, when they used to go hunting the bigger game with bow and arrow; and *Iwot*, the wet season, when they set traps. Each season covers roughly half the year, the rain beginning to tail off in September and getting less and less till January, and then starting to work up again in March, reaching its peak about May; so that *Musiowik* comprises our months of October to March, and *Iwot*, April to September. The Dorobo have twelve months, all but two having the same names as the Nandi months, but they do not synchronize*:

Dorobo names:	Nandi names:		
Kipsirmo	*Kipsondet*	October	
Kipsondet	*Kipsondet aiew*	November	
Kipsondet ake	*Mulkol*	December	Musiowik
Mulkol	*Ngetiatet* *	January	
Ngetiatet *	*Kiptamo*	February	
Kiptamo	*Iwot kut*	March	
Iwot kut	*Wakut*	April	
Wakut	*Ngei* *	May	
Mamut	*Rop tui*	June	Iwot
Rop tui	*Purut*	July	
Puruto	*Kpese*	August	
Yeperut	*Mulkol aiew*	September	

The average rainfall at Kapchorua Farm, about two miles below the edge of the forest for the years 1920 to 1937 was 54.09 inches, the maximum being 69.17, the minimum 39.01. Details are given in the Appendix. In the forest itself I think the rainfall is undoubtedly a little higher, perhaps amounting to another 3-3 ins. in the course of an average year.

The Dorobo seem to have a better weather sense than the Nandi, and I found that they were generally accurate when making a forecast, whereas the Nandi are usually wrong when they try to foretell the weather. This weather sense is perhaps one of the reasons for their reputation among other tribes as rainmakers; for these Dorobo not only say that they have no rainmakers, but I could find no trace whatever of rainmaking activities, nor any hint that they ever had any. Climatic conditions are such, however, that in a hunting economy rainmaking is not a necessity.

The environment of the Dorobo provides them with food, skins, wood, and other vegetable materials. Iron they had not, and they still have no knowledge of ironworking, though they use iron implements. Their activities comprised hunting, trapping, food-gathering, hut-building, the production of honey, and the making of objects of wood, leather, and grass, such as traps, arrow-shafts, bows, honey-barrels, clothing, rope, baskets, and handles for tools. Objects of iron they have got for as far back as they can remember from the Nandi by exchange for such things as they can make or produce themselves.

* Throughout this paper I have written the value usual by the sign a, representing the "long-tailed a". In words marked * the first consonant is the value usual.

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The economic unit is the family, of whatever kind, elementary or domestic, living alone or within a group. The unit formed of a man, his wife, and their children can actually provide itself, under normal conditions, with most of its necessary subsistence, with a certain amount of help from those to whom they are entitled to turn for it. The first necessity is of course food. This is of two kinds, meat and vegetable, and the animal sort is now both wild and cultivated, though formerly the Dorobo ate but little in the way of cereals; restrictions on hunting have now forced them to do so. In the old days meat and honey were the principal foods, vegetables being eaten as a relish. The foods now eaten may be classed under the following heads in order of traditional importance:

1. Meat: got by hunting and trapping.
2. Honey: from their honey-barrels.
3. Wild plants: collected.
4. Salt: made or bought.
5. Drink: made from honey.
6. Cereals: eleusine and maize, grown; maize, bought.
7. Milk: for those who have cows.

Almost any kind of meat, except that of scavengers like jackal, hyaena, mongoose, etc., was and still is eaten, including antelopes, monkeys, and bigger game. Of antelopes they eat the following:

*Ngumwayat**, the common duiker (*cephalophus Grimmi*).
Kipurkwat, the blue duiker (*C. sequatorialis*).
Mwakat, the red duiker (*C. ignu-rauci*).
Kwomasit, the bushbuck (*Tragelaphus scriptus*).
Irukwint, the reedbuck (*Cervicapra arundinum*).
Kwepsit, the grisi (*Ourebia montana*).
Kipsumwet, the waterbuck (*Cobus ellipsiprymnus*).

Of monkeys they eat:

Saint, the colobus (*Colobus guereza*).
Tirsit, Sykes' monkey (*Cercopithecus albogularis*).
Cwest, grey monkey (*C. griseo-viridis*).
Kwenkwat, the baboon (*Papio cynocephalus*).

And of other animals they eat:

Twest, the wild pig or wart-hog (*Phacochoerus aethiopicus*).
Tumia, the giant pig (*Hylochoerus Meinertzhageni*).
Mdidis, the leopard.
Simbit, the lion.
Saint, the buffalo.
Pdiat, the elephant.

There are, however, no elephant in the Dorobo country to-day, nor have there been within living Dorobo memory; but buffalo still occur in the

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kupotok. Kiinde tajat kut kuruvio. Pani-e ebesiek ee cam ai kuruvio 273
as-well. It-is-put-in the-loft till it-ripens. It-remains the-days many that it-may-
kut koiek maiyak. Kile.
ripen till it-becomes the-drink. (Then) we-drink.

(Some seed-pods are boiled so that they can be split; they are washed in the river to remove any dirt sticking to them, and then when they have become quite soft, they are put in the sun to dry. The dried strips are next put into a pot containing honey and nothing else, to make it bitter, i. e. to ferment it, and some water is added. The mixture is put in the loft to ferment. It is left for several days till it is ready and can be drunk. Then we drink it.) Another drink called *kokomek*, or honey-and-water, is also a favourite of the 272
Dorobo; it is not intoxicating and is much simpler to prepare than honey-wine, being simply honey and water mixed together, without the addition of seed-pods, and drunk the same day without any fermentation.

In the old days, the Dorobo say, they were seldom absolutely without 262
food, for meat could generally be got with either bow or trap, and unless a 224 ●
man was ill or away, when someone would help his family with food, he could 177
usually get enough to feed them. This is probably true, for in those days game was plentiful enough, and there were no Europeans to restrict their hunting activities. Nowadays, when hunting is curtailed, and reduced to little more than trapping, there is an uncertainty about the food supply which even the introduction of agriculture and the nearness of European farms does not altogether remove. A man may be just unlucky with his trapping: European influence, as "harmful magic", is blamed for this; and his crop may be a 262
small one, or much damaged by vermin. And although one member of a [464]
family may even be a wage-earner on a neighbouring farm and get a daily [466]
ration of 2 lbs. of maize meal when he works, he has to feed not only himself [693]
but his own family and perhaps others. For instance, a man of my
acquaintance named Arap Keter had to feed his wife, his child, his sister, and his mother, as well as himself. Arap Ruto, one of his neighbours, who also worked on a farm, had at times to feed his brother Arap Misin, his wife, his four children, and his mother. Two pounds of meal a day do not go far to eke out a small crop and the produce of the traps and honey-barrels when divided among eight people in a bad season. Shortages are remedied as far 476
as possible by the principle of sharing, and a man who has food left over after feeding his own family must, and does, help to feed certain others if need be. Arap Ruto, as we have just seen, has had to feed seven people besides himself at times; but in the past the normal rule of food distribution 224
was that a man provided meat for his wife and children, for his parents, and 476
sometimes his wife's parents, since the old people, as always, depend on what [888]
their sons and sons-in-law can give them. A successful hunter also shared his kill with those who went with him and were unlucky. The distribution of meat was thus as follows:

Hunter
1. Own family.
2. Own parents.
3. Wife's parents.
4. Fellow hunters.

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224 476 In a settlement or clearing inhabited by several people, meat would be shared in a definite way:

I	Or	II	Or	III
A a man		A a man		A a man
B his father		B his brother		B a clansman
C his brother		C a clansman		C a clansman

A supplies B first, then C if C has no food; but before anybody else is given meat, A must give some to his father or father-in-law if they are within reach. Vegetable food, being accessible to all, is not shared.

462 There is a clear division of essential work between the sexes. Everything connected with hunting, bees, and weapons is done by men; women do the domestic work and other things of that nature. The more important normal occupations are divided thus:

Men:	Women:
1. Making fire.	Building houses.
2. Hunting.	Collecting vegetable food.
3. Trapping.	Getting water and firewood.
4. Putting meat on to cook.	Looking after meat cooking.
5. Making honey-barrels.	Collecting other foods.
6. Collecting honey.	Milking (if cattle are owned).
7. Making weapons.	Making baskets.
8. Exchange with the Nandi.	Preparing skins.
9. Getting coloured earth.	Making clothes, etc.
10. Cutting wood for uses other than firewood and building.	Care of the children.
11. Making fences.	Sweeping huts, etc.
12. Preliminary heavy work in the shamba[*].	Cultivation — all stages.

[257] Children of both sexes help in weeding and herding livestock; girls help with the housework and milking cows; boys milk till they are circumcised.

In the list above, the sex-division is followed strictly with regard to the first nine items of men's work; in the last three there is a certain amount of overlapping. Of women's work, basket-making, the preparation of skins, and making clothes are strictly confined to women, but the essential household work of preparing and cooking food, sweeping, and cultivation is often done by men, especially when they live alone in the state of monosis; such men get baskets and suchlike from women in exchange for meat and food. House-building, including cutting and carrying the wood and roof-material, is all done by women, unless a man is living alone, or has to build a new hut at a time when his wife is for some reason away; Arap Misin, for instance, had to build a new hut when his wife was ill, and in consequence had to do

[238]

[*] Swahili for a piece of cultivated ground, and widely used by Europeans.

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435 1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagful of honey.
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared antelope skin.
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared antelope skin.
2 baskets of cereal seed for 1 basket (*kerepet*).
1/- worth of trade beads for 1 gourd full of honey.

[804] The bag used as a measure for honey is the smaller size of *kerepet*, measuring 7 or 8 ins. by 6 ½ or 7 ins. The gourd is about 10 ins. long. The large pot stands about 20 ins. high, the small, about 10 ins., and the large antelope skin is usually a bushbuck, the small one a duiker.

437 There are no special market places or places of exchange. The Dorobo
434 go to the nearest smith or potter and make a bargain, returning later with
[443] the exchange equivalent to collect the goods. There is no language difficulty
[197] in these transactions, for the Dorobo language is no more than an easily understood dialect of Nandi. Getting iron or pottery means going into the Reserve, but to get seeds, tobacco or beads they need only go to the nearest friendly Nandi who has what they want and is willing to make the exchange. Sometimes plant material of medicinal value (i. e. what they think is medicinal value) is substituted for some of the regular exchange articles, but the above list represents the ordinary practice. When Dorobo have money with which to buy what they want instead of exchanging goods, they have the choice of going to the shops at either Songhor in the south, or else at Aruos in the Nandi Reserve, where there is a collection of Indian shops. The men do not [562] like their womenfolk to go to these places unescorted, but occasionally some of the bolder ones try to slip away unobserved to Aruos; they seldom go to Songhor, as it is in the European area.

476 No human group can exist without some form of co-operation, and even when a man lives alone, as he may have to among the Dorobo, he is not because of that cut off from or unable to share in the activities of his horde. Within the family people are interdependent, and in the settlement they help each other. The main activities in which people normally co-operate are four in number: 1. House-building; 2. Hunting; 3. Digging earth; 4. Cultivation. [462] (1) Building huts is women's work, which a man will do if he has no wife, and for which he will get help from a relative or clansfellow. (2) When people [224] hunted game they usually went out in parties, and the kill was shared among them. [317] (3) Digging earth means a journey of anything up to 16 miles round the edge of the forest and into country where nowadays there are strangers, so people find it both safer and more convenient to go in parties, for though they are in no danger of being attacked, their unconquerable shyness demands numbers to give confidence. (4) In a family or clan group, though each individual has his own [241] shamba, he will expect both to help and to be helped by the other members.

Together with the spirit of co-operation is the rule of joint consumption. [276] We have already seen how meat is shared according to definite rules; and among the Dorobo certain other things which are hard to come by must also be shared. The chief of these is tobacco, of which when a man has acquired even a small supply, he is supposed to give some to his father, to his wife's

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

barrel so that the smoke goes inside and the bees come out. He then takes out what honey he wants, wraps it in the leaves he has brought, and descends, carefully extinguishing the tinder when he has reached the ground. Though sometimes the barrels are not more than a few feet from the ground, very often the process of taking honey means a climb of eighty feet or so with no help but the unsteady ladder already described.

Although honey has great ritual and social value, like milk to the Nandi it cannot be said that bees take the place of cattle in the daily life of the people, for they require and receive no care beyond the provision of barrels and the due observance of the taboos concerning honey, and there is really no need to know very much about them. But as producers of honey, bees provide material for food, drink, and ritual, and they are thus of some importance. Honey, too, is a much-used medium of exchange. Without honey, Dorobo life would be vain and empty.

b) Hunting

In the past, hunting was the chief occupation of Dorobo men, and though they hunt but little now, confining their activities to trapping, they have still a "hunting outlook". The conversation of Dorobo walking through the forest sooner or later turns on the animal life around them, for as we have already noted, they have what the Nandi call *comiet*, which one might almost render 'affinity', with the beasts of the forest. The sort of talk that goes on in the forest is something like this sample, which I took down after hearing it :

A. *Keliek ap tiowik.*
The-feet of the-animals.

B. *Iro, ni poinet, punu yo, wendi yo.*
Look, this-one (is) the-bushbuck, it-comes-from over-there, it-goes over-there.
Miniw, a ma miniw misiw, tinye lakuennyi kitekin.
Small, but not small very, it-has its-child small.

A. *Cecoh cuto tiowik, mii samaklannyon; acome cepo samak.*
(They are) ours these animals, they-are-in our-forest; I-like (the things) which-are-of forest.

B. *Ingesuwen ulinto timin, apere mii tiond ake. Ne ni ne kuikuioti orti?*
Let-us-look over-there (in) that-forest, perhaps there-is the-animal another. What (is) this that creeps-about inside?

A. *Apere tumia.*
Perhaps the-giant-pig.

B. *Weiis, aswweni metit. Inguatinye kuyanda apere no. A mamii kuyanda.*
Yes, I-see the-head. If-I-had the-bow I-kill that-one. But there-is-not-here the-bow.

A. *Ingesuwen ole mwe.*
Let-us-see where it-escapes-(to).

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

The year was divided, from the hunting point of view, into the dry season and the wet season. In the wet season people did not generally go out hunting, but stayed at home and set traps to catch antelopes and the like. In the dry season they hunted all sorts of game with bow and arrow in the forest and far afield. Thus, Arap Minin told of how soon after he had been circumcised he was one of a hunting party that went into North Nandi, as far as the hills Kaptepe and Tapsakoi [18] near the modern Turbo, some forty miles from the forest, in the days when there were no Europeans there; and another Dorobo spoke of hunting monkeys as far from home as Kapiyet in North Nandi. Leopard, monkey, and pig are still plentiful. Buffalo still exist to the east, in the direction of Timboroa and Londiani, but they have not been hunted by the Dorobo in recent years, in fact, they say, not since about 1900 when the Kaplelac age were warriors. Elephant are no more, but they were found in this area, according to some old men, when the Sawe and Kipkoimet were warriors about 60 to 70 years ago. There are no lion in the forest, but the Dorobo occasionally shot them in the plains. Leopard used to be hunted by organized parties, but this practice has been discontinued for some years, though they are still attacked and killed by individuals if they get aggressive, as in February 1939, when Arap Singira got his lip torn in a leopard hunt at Sosoiyo. Sometimes traps are made for them, of wire which is picked up on the farms. But trapping leopard is not common, and the trap made by Arap Menati which caught a leopard in July 1938 was said to be exceptional. Generally they prefer to hunt a leopard with dogs, as in the old days, when if one was put up by a dog and climbed a tree, the hunter came and shot it.

There is really no close season, as we understand the expression. The trapping season, which did in fact give the game a respite, was not intended for that purpose, but was for the convenience of the hunters themselves, because when it is wet, the forest is difficult to go through, the undergrowth thick, and the ground muddy and slippery; though some have been known to hunt pig there in wet weather.

Dorobo hunting equipment consisted of a bow, poisoned arrows, quiver, knife, and dogs. Spears have never been used by the Kipkurerek, and the spear trap reported to be found among some Dorobo does not appear ever to have been one of their methods of killing big game. For trapping, a man needs only something to cut the materials with, and, of course, his skill; if he is to make a pit-trap, he needs something to dig with.

Bows are made mainly from the *kuriot* tree (teclea sp.) and are about 5 ft. in length. A suitable piece of wood is cut and scraped with a knife-blade till it is smooth and of the right thickness. The bow-string, *inet*, is made of gut from the giant pig, *tumta;* the gut is stretched, greased and twisted till it becomes sufficiently strong and pliable for use. It is knotted to the ends of the bow an inch or so from each end: no notch is cut in the wood to receive it. Arrow-shafts are made from the *koromandet* and *masaita* trees, as well as from split bamboo; they are smoothed with a knife-blade in the same way as

[18] Better known to Europeans as Kiboloss and Kapsagoi.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

the bow. Quivers are made of ox-hide. Arrow-poison is made from the bush called *keliot* (acocanthera Schimperi), the use of which the Nandi say was discovered by the Dorobo [16]. It is made in this way: leaves and branches are broken off and boiled in a pot for several hours. The resulting liquid is strained and boiled again till it becomes thick and tar-like. When cool it is placed on a sheet of bark, covered with another piece of bark and put in a tree out of the reach of children, together with the pot in which it was boiled. After making poison a man must purify himself by bathing in a river. *Keliot* poison acts very quickly, but does not make the whole of the animal killed by it unfit to eat. The flesh round the site of entry is cut away and destroyed, and the rest is eaten with safety.

The Dorobo used to have hunting dogs (*sokto*, pl. *sokik*) which at one time were the only animals they kept. They still have dogs, but the hunting breed which I saw in the Kelpui-Kipkorom area in 1927, seems to have died out, for though I saw a few dogs there in 1939, they were nothing more than the ordinary native type, the thin-nosed cur so common in Native Reserves and on farms wherever Africans are found. The original breed, as I saw it in 1927, had, it is true, a tightly curled tail, but was a much better looking animal, of a different shape, and much fiercer, resembling the so-called '*basenji*' dog of the Belgian Congo [17] more than anything else, especially in its prick ears, tail, and carriage, though it could bark. When in the forest, the Dorobo put leather collars on their dogs, with a small bell under the throat so that they could tell where the animals were when they put up game. It was noticeable both in 1927 and 1939 that the Dorobo treated their dogs better than Africans usually do — they paid more attention to them, played with them, and fondled them.

The traps used by the Kipkurerek are of two kinds: the pit-trap, and the springe. The pit-trap, *nguret*, is simply an oblong pit about 6 to 8 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, and 6 ft. deep, dug with digging-sticks, and the earth removed in bags or baskets. Wooden spikes, *kipnaiyeinat*, were often set in the bottom, and the whole was covered with thin sticks concealed by a layer of grass and leaves. The trap was dug across a path known to be used by buffalo, the animal it was chiefly intended to catch. This type is no longer used. The springe is the only trap used to-day. It is called *poroet*, and can be made in a very short time by almost any Dorobo. It is used chiefly to catch smaller game like antelope. The materials required to make a springe are wood, liana, and grass, and the only tool used is an axe or *panga* (the long-bladed knife or cutlass common in Africa, and now often used by Dorobo). The trap about to be described was made for me on the edge of the forest at Kipkorom by Coimin arap Katam on 9 July 1938. It took him about 12 minutes from start to finish, and did all that was claimed for it; it should be noted that he was somewhat out of practice, and probably took a little longer than a man who was constantly making traps.

[16] Cf. Hollis, The Nandi. Oxford 1909. p. 108.
[17] Cf. Capt. G. Dollman in Journ. Roy. African Soc. 36. 1937. 148.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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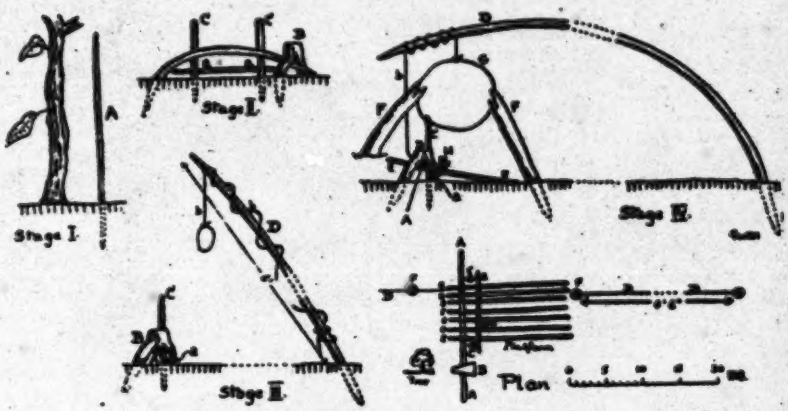

Fig. 4. Stages in the Making of a Springe.

The first step is to cut a stick, A in Fig. 4, about 21 ins. long, chop the thick end to a point, and plant it firmly in the ground in a suitable position where it is more or less concealed by bushes. The second stage is to cut a peg B, bend over the stick A and fasten it down with the peg. Two short sticks CC are then placed 8 inches apart up against A, and another stick *a* is laid on the ground beside them to form the base of the platform. A pliable stick D about 6 ft. long is then planted in the ground 5 ft. away from *a* and a piece of liana *bb* is tied to it. Next, a number of sticks, EE, about 12 ins. long, is laid at right angles to *a* resting on *a* and underneath A to form the platform. Two split sticks FF are fixed on each side of the platform to hold the noose. Stick D is bent over, the noose G is slipped into the cleft sticks, and a length of liana from the end of D is tied to peg H which is placed against A and *a*. Finally, *a* is raised off the ground, and the platform, now set for action, is covered lightly with grass and leaves to conceal it. When an animal treads on the platform, the pressure on it pushes *a* to the ground, and the lower end of peg H is thereby released, with the result that the bent end of stick D is allowed to spring up. The animal as it treads on the platform simultaneously puts its head within the noose which quickly tightens round its neck as D springs upright, and the animal is thus suspended and unable to escape. Frail as such a trap may seem, it is strong enough to catch animals and hold them till the trapper comes to see what has been caught.

The wood used for making such traps is cut from one or more of the following trees: *kimoluet* (vangueria edulis), *ceptuiyet*, *ketuyuwet* (Nandi, *martii*); the liana is taken from the *ndorokiat* tree when possible. A simpler form of the same trap is shown in Fig. 5, in which there is no "trigger-peg" like H in the preceding example, but instead a short upright stick to which is attached the end of the liana; the stick is pressed back by the platform

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

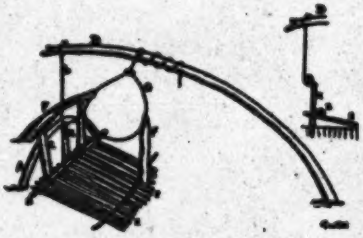

Fig. 5. A Simpler Kind of Springe. This trap has no "trigger-peg". The animal treads on the platform and by so doing presses it against the upright K to which liana b is attached, thus releasing the liana and allowing the bent stick D to spring upright and tighten the noose round the neck of the quarry.

when an animal treads on it, allowing the liana to slip over the top and thus release the bent stick D.

Hunting parties might be made up by as many as eight men, though I think that probably four or five was a more usual number. A common practice was for half the party to work along one bank of a stream and the rest along the other bank, so that if there was nothing on one side, those on the other side might be more successful; or if the quarry got across the stream, the men on the other side would be able to deal with it. When a kill was made, all the hunters assembled. The animal was skinned, the meat cut up, and some of it eaten on the spot, either raw, or partly cooked by laying it across a rough wooden framework over a fire. The rest of the meat was divided among them and taken home. In the best days, when meat was plentiful, what was left over was dried and kept either as a reserve or else exchanged with the Nandi for eleusine and millet. A stack of dried meat (*sirikeniot*) about 2 ft. square, was sold for about 25 lbs. of grain. Meat is cut into strips (*sir*, whence *sirikeniot*) which are laid out on the drying tray or loft over the fire to be smoke-cured after being dried on the roof of a hut or in the fork of a tree.

c) Agriculture

Since they can no longer hunt, and present conditions are[18] not favourable for the acquisition of cattle on a large scale (even if the Dorobo had the means of so doing), the adoption of agriculture has become an economic necessity, and methods, implements, and seed have been obtained from the Nandi. This change from hunting to agriculture has taken place virtually between the years 1927 and 1938. In the first of these years the area cultivated by them was so small as to be negligible; but by the latter year their lives were, as we have seen, to a great deal centered on agriculture. And as with hunting in the old days, so with agriculture to-day, the growing of crops is naturally regulated by the wet and dry seasons and the main divisions of the agricultural year are:

January to April: preparation of the land.
April-May: planting.
September: reaping.

[18] This refers to the years 1938-39.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

423 It will be seen from the map that honey-barrels and traps are the main forest activities, the shambas being outside the limit of the trees.

The Dorobo had developed a habit of saying that there were no honey-
[231] barrels in the forest. Certainly this would seem to be true to anyone who goes through the forest along the main track from Kipkorom, for there one sees no sign of any activity at all. But on the other track, where few but Dorobo go, there are plenty of them, especially in Area I where Arap and his brothers are very active, several of the barrels near the path belonging to his unmarried half-brother Kipungei. In Area II there are not so many, because Arap Minin regards himself as an old man by now, and unable to
[886] work much (he is actually — in 1939 — about 40); his brother Arap Ruto works on a farm and is less active in the forest than Kipungei. But Arap Minin has at least two honey-barrels, which he showed me, as well as a trap
[487] in which not long before he had caught a bushbuck. A few paths branching off the main track which had once led to traps could still be distinguished, though they were not used in 1939. In Area III there was a new path leading to a trap made by Arap Singira some way from the track. In Areas VI
[361] and VII some of the people still live in the forest in the old type of Dorobo hut, the *koconget*.

Now these areas are not very extensive. The space of forest occupied by Areas I-IV is perhaps not more than six square miles or thereabouts, and that of Areas V and VI may not be more than four square miles. But a mile on the map is a very different thing from a mile on the ground in an African forest. The Dorobo have been forced by economic pressure to concentrate; and since the adoption, even on a small scale, of agriculture, the dependence on hunting has naturally been reduced. In addition to each forest area must be reckoned the strip of open land where they live, cultivate their little shambas, and herd their few livestock. Moreover the central and unoccupied part of the forest is open to anyone who chooses to hunt there, though there were no indications in 1939 that they actually did so. In the old days the
177 forest areas may have been larger, though when all the *korosuek* were occupied
423 there cannot have been very much difference in size. But a relatively small area is enough for bee-keeping, trapping, and food-gathering, and it must be remembered that in the past, before the forest people's economy was disturbed,
● [224] they ranged much further afield to hunt with bow and arrow than is possible to-day, and the forest was primarily regarded as a trapping area. Various statements leave no doubt that the Dorobo used to hunt right over Nandi and Uasin Gishu, as well as in the high country east of Timboroa. Thus, though their own territory was limited in extent, their dry weather range was wide, and the supply of game more than adequate to their needs [22].

114 [22] This paper deals with conditions that existed up to 1940; the use of the present tense must be taken as referring to that period.

/54/

58. The Dorobo

The last name on the list of predecessors in the occupation of the land now held by the tribes of the Unit is Dorobo. Here again there have been much confusion and lack of definition, and in spite of the continued existence of 'pockets' of so-called Dorobo in many parts of East Africa we find ourselves beset with difficulties if we try to give a synoptic ethnological interpretation to the very numerous facts. Some would lump all the Dorobo together with the other trapping tribes and call them aboriginal hunting people of a Bushman type, explaining obvious departures from that type by infiltrations in varying amounts of Hamite and Negro blood. Others (including many Africans) think that the difference between them and the other tribes is simply one of culture[1], not of origin, that the Dorobo chose to stay a step behind while the others, due in part to population-pressure, moved from the hunting-trapping-gathering stage to that of herding or herding-planting.

59. Joseph Thomson, in Through Masailand, written in 1883 or thereabouts, gives the following account:

> "This tribe - the Wa-ndorobbo of the Wa-swahili - is a small race of people scattered over Masai-land who gain their entire livelihood by the chase. They neither keep cattle nor cultivate the land. The antelope, the buffalo, and the elephant supply them with such meat as they may desire, while they always find neighbouring tribes, less skillful in hunting, eager to exchange vegetable food for game. The elephant, however, seems to be their staple food, and as a rule the Andorobbo are to be found only where those animals abound; as for instance

1. To the Mwimbi at the present time Mwathi signifies a Mwimbi who, while engaging in hunting and trapping, lives in a settled village among the agricultural Mwimbi, while Dorobo signifies a Mwimbi (or anybody else) who lives in the forest and takes no part in agriculture.

/66 cont'd/

"South of the Chania river the position was very different, a few families of Gumba were living here and there in the forest - a fact which even the Wanderobo admit - but they were merely wanderers eking out a precarious existence and hiding from the real owners, the Wanderobo. 101 174

"The Wanderobo were, like the Gumba, a hunting people, but it would seem that they were much more organised and according to their own tradition they had even, in the dim past, definite laws or customs relating to hunting rights... [224]

"The Kikuyu described the Wanderobo as the Athi a Githaka or 'Rulers of the Bush land', and never spoke of them among themselves as the Nderubu, which was the name by which they were known to the Masai. 101

"The word Wanderobo has been used by Europeans in Kenya to describe the various hunting tribes that inhabit the forest zones of the Kenya Highlands, and there is no doubt at all that the name has been used to describe several distinct tribal entities which anthropologists and linguists would have no difficulty in distinguishing from each other on the grounds of law and custom and language. For the purpose of this study we must concern ourselves only with that tribe called Wanderobo by the Europeans, which inhabited the forest lands which later were bought by the Kikuyu, and the descendants of whom are still living in the forest on the boundary of Kikuyu country in the Kijabe region and northwards on to the slopes of the Aberdare mountains. Today only some two or three hundred individuals are left to represent the Wanderobo of this area, and most of them have a greater or less proportion of Kikuyu blood in their veins, but /67/ they still retain many customs which are quite different to those of the Kikuyu and they still speak among themselves a distinct language of their own, although most if not all of them also speak Kikuyu, but with a marked accent. [131] [131] [162] [144] [191]

9:Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Notes concerning the Elderobo of Mau, British East Africa. 17

By C. W. Hobley, Assoc.M.I.C.E., Local Correspondent of the Anthropological Institute.

101 To the east of Nandi country, in the Mau Forest north-east of Mount Tinderet, live
[224] a tribe of so-called Eldorobo people, who, like other branches of their race, exist solely
[233] by hunting, and possess neither flocks nor herds, neither do they cultivate the soil.
[241]

By the Nandi they are called the Oggiek, and they call themselves the Omotik.
648 They have intimate relations with the Eastern Nandi, and generally speak the Nandi
[191] language: in fact, numbers of the young Nandi men, for whom the free hunting life has
[563] a charm, leave their homes and go and settle among these people for some years, and probably marry Oggiek women. It is thus difficult to discover what is the true
142 aboriginal type of the race. The representatives with whom I have come in contact had, however, redder complexions than the majority of the Nandi, and had very peculiar eyes, which reminded one somewhat of the Mongolian type. In height they averaged 5 feet 9 inches to 5 feet 10 inches.

Their marriage customs are very simple: the suitor merely presents the father of
583 the girl with some beer made from the sap of the "mkindu," or wild date palm, and a few monkey-skin cloaks, or "kaross," and takes away his bride.

9:Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL6 Dorobo FL6

They are said to be very prolific, having families of eight to ten children, but the infant mortality is so extremely heavy that their numbers increase very slowly; this mortality is probably due to the cold, damp climate of the Mau Forests, which are at an altitude ranging from 7,000 to 9,000 feet.

Their peace ceremony consists of cutting off a dog's ears, and the contracting parties then spatter one another with the blood.

They live principally on Colobus and other monkeys, which they shoot in the forest. At certain seasons, however, they go and hunt big game on the plains, known as the Rangata Nyuki; they wait till the grass is dry, and then burn it to facilitate their hunting. They use poisoned arrows for big game, and unpoisoned ones for monkeys, &c. They train dogs to assist in their hunting, and are very keen to get young dogs for the purpose. They told me that they first gave the dog certain medicine, and the animal could then track game.

They are very clever elephant hunters, and informed me that when they came across an elephant they went off and bathed and scrubbed themselves very carefully to remove all trace of the human scent, and that they were then able to approach a sleeping elephant and spear it with a poisoned dart.

They are most expert in the use of a firestick. The fire is produced in the ordinary way by the friction of one stick spun round vertically in a depression in another piece of wood, which is held firm between the bare feet of the operator; the lower piece of wood appeared to be the juniper of Mau.

A small vocabulary of their language is appended on the opposite page. They use the Nandi numerals.

The prefix "ki," and the suffixes "et," "it," and "ek," are, I think, brought in from the Nandi language, but most of the roots will be found to be quite distinct. Many of the tribe can only speak Nandi, and when collecting this vocabulary in many cases they appeared to have forgotten the Oggiek or Omotik word but gave the Nandi word, and had to consult among themselves and, as it were, hunt up the proper word. The language is thus evidently dropping into such disuse that it will probably become quite extinct in the near future.

C. W. HOBLEY.

200-300 ft. in most places. Once the forest is reached, the slope is gradual, ranging from 8,200 ft. to 8,400 ft., though the main river, the Kipkurere, flows through a valley 1,000 ft. deep. The rainfall, taken at Kapchorua farm about two miles from the W. boundary of the forest, averages 56.54 inches over 9 years from 1929 to 1937: the maximum was 70.33 inches in 1937, the minimum 28.61 inches in 1933; in the forest itself the rainfall is undoubtedly higher. The forest is always damp: mists are frequent, and even in the dry weather it is not always quite dry, a condition which is responsible in part for the rather high infant mortality among the Dorobo. On the edge of the forest are glades with a fringe of thorn trees (acacia robusta), and between the forest and the farms is a strip of land, included in the Forest Reserve, which is suitable for cultivation and stock-keeping. The year is divided into two seasons, *Mwainonik*, the dry season from October to March, and *Iwot*, the wet season, from April to September. These determine both the now obsolescent hunting activities, and the increasing agricultural activities.

B. Economic Activities.

The economic life of the Dorobo may be divided into two phases: (1) the old hunting existence, which began to disappear about 1925 when the Government started seriously to restrict their forest life, and (2) the present trapping-agricultural life in which cultivation is becoming of increased importance.

The economic group is either the elementary family or the domestic family (or, the extended family). Sexual division of work overlaps to some extent, but most of the work outside the settlement is done by men (hunting, trapping, woodcutting, and intercourse with the outside world), while the women do the work inside the settlement, except that they collect all the vegetable food from the forest. Agricultural work is performed by both sexes. Things peculiar to women are: the making of clothes, leather work, and baskets; to men: making weapons and other utensils, digging coloured earth, and putting meat on the fire to cook (though the women look after it once it is on the fire).

[P.192, B]

and by personal ability, and therefore to some extent by their geographical setting. They have no iron ore, no metallurgic knowledge, and so all ironwork is imported from the Nandi. Tobacco, which they like, is not grown as yet, and this too must be obtained from the Nandi. There is a regular exchange of honey, skins, and baskets, for arrowheads, knives, tobacco, seeds, pottery, etc., and a scale of exchange values has come into existence:

1 arrow head is given for a gourd of honey.
1 bundle of tobacco is given for a bag of honey.
1 large pot is given for a large bushbuck skin.
1 small pot is given for a duiker skin.
2 basketfuls of seed for one basket.[1]

Sometimes personal services are given, e.g. a day's weeding in the smith's garden for two knives.

Cattle are obtained from the Nandi, to a limited extent, by a system of gift exchange for furs. The Nandi make friends with the Dorobo chiefly for the purpose of getting honey, and the Dorobo will give some to his Nandi friend without expectation of an immediate return. Presently the Nandi gives the Dorobo a goat, and this exchange of gifts paves the way for further and more important transactions: eventually the Dorobo offers his friend a fur cloak for an ox, as e.g. my friend Arap Minig acquired one from a Nandi called Kapkile at Ollesos; he also got another in exchange for 7 goats, which he bought out of his wages for working on a farm.

C. *Techniques*

1. Hunting

The dry weather, *sumainonik*, is the shooting season, and the wet weather, *imot*, is the time for trapping. The weapon is the bow and arrow (spears are not used by the Kapchepkendi Dorobo), and the hunters use dogs.

In wet weather buck are caught in traps. In the dry season, wild pig of various kinds[2] were

[1] A honey-bag is about 12 ins. deep, and 8 ins. wide; it contains about twice as much honey as a gourd. A basket (kerepet) is about 6 ins. deep and 6½ ins. wide at the top.

[2] *Tumda*, the wart-hog (Phacochoerus aethiopicus); and *Torot*, the giant hog or bush-pig (Hylochoerus Meinertzhageni).

14:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939)1942
[P.193, A]
FL6 Dorobo FL6

hunted by concerted action, and still are, to a limited extent, by individuals, as well as several species of monkey.[1] There seems to have been no very strict close season, as pig were occasionally hunted in the wet weather, though not often, since the forest is difficult to traverse when wet. There are now no lion or elephant, but they are said to have existed when the Sawe and Kipkoii-met ages were young men, i.e. about 1860. Leopards are still common, and are still shot if one runs up a tree after being put up by dogs; they are sometimes caught in traps made of wire, which is not bought, but searched for or stolen from farms. However, a trap made by one Arap Megati which caught a leopard during one of my visits was said to be exceptional. Buffalo no longer exist in the western end of the forest where the Kapchepkendi live, but they occur near Londiani, a few miles to the east.

Hunting parties varied from two to eight men. If, say, eight went out, half would go along one bank of a stream, and half along the other bank, so that one or other party would be sure to get something. They met after the kill, and cooked the meat and ate some of it on the spot. The rest was divided among the hunters and taken home for their families, the unsuccessful members of the hunt receiving a share from those who made the kill. The hunter has to provide, not only his own (elementary) family, but also his father, mother, and wife's father with meat, and the distribution of meat in order of priority, is:—

Hunter: *Meat to*

1. Wife and children.
2. Father and mother.
3. Wife's father.
4. Neighbours (clansmen).

A man has (or had till they were evicted by the government) an hereditary right over a piece of forest, which included hunting, trapping, bee-keeping, and food-gathering. Other people who wanted to hunt there asked permission to do so, for otherwise the right-holder might kill anyone

[1] *Saiwet*, Colobus guereza;
Chereret, Cercopithecus grieo-viridis;
Tisiet, Sykes' monkey or Cercopithecus albigularis;
Konokchot, the baboon, Papio cynocephalus.

he found hunting on his area, though he would be liable to pay blood-cattle for homicide.

As for trapping, it is said that nobody steals meat from traps because their bellies would swell to a great size if they ate stolen meat. Public opinion, too, is strongly against such a mean crime, and is of itself a powerful deterrent. Nowadays trapping is the chief source of meat, and the common practice is for a man to set three or four traps at a time in different places, and to visit them every two days or so to see if anything has been caught.

Monkeys and buck[1] are killed for their meat and skins; pig provide meat and gut for bow-strings.

2. Agriculture.[2]

The Dorobo are in process of changing from a hunting to an agricultural existence, from the uncertain hunting economy to the more certain one of agriculture; and the same economic pressure which has forced them to till the soil is now encouraging a desire for cattle, which are being slowly and laboriously acquired. This leads in turn to a more self-supporting state, with less dependence on the Nandi for grain crops; and agricultural techniques, both in tillage and stock, are being learnt from the Nandi and from Europeans.

Both sexes work in the cultivated plots (*imbaret*), and are helped by children, who weed the crops, herd the stock, and milk the cows. The crops grown at present are eleusine (*eleusine coracana*, called *wimbi* in Swahili) and maize; millet and tobacco are still bought from the Nandi, from whom the Dorobo also get eleusine and maize seed when necessary. Unlike the distribution of the forest into hunting areas, people cultivate the ground close to their own homes, and a group

[1] The buck killed are:
Kipseket, blue duiker (cehpalophus aequatorialis).
Mindet, red duiker (c. igna-isaaci.)
Keremaïit, bush buck (tragelsphus scriptus.)
Irukutet, reed-buck
Kenyelet, oribi
Kipsomeret, water-buck (cobus ellipsiprymnus).

[2] I prefer the term 'agriculture' to 'horticulture,' for the latter implies mere cultivation, with no livestock, and in East Africa agriculture is almost always practised in conjunction with stock-rearing, even if only on a small scale.

[P. 196, A]

Economic life to-day is centred more and more on the *imbaret* than on hunting. 241 423

The family group is interdependent: the men trap, make tools, protect the family; the women look after house and children, and prepare food; the children, while dependent on their parents for existence, help them with the *imbaret* and livestock, and in various other small ways. 592

There is little specialization, since all men can make traps and honey-barrels, and all women can make baskets. Joint-production occurs in (1) house-building, when the whole family takes part; (2) cultivation; (3) in hunting and in digging coloured earth. Food produced by the family is shared by husband, wife, and children, and also by the husband's and the wife's parents. Meat caught by trapping is divided between the trapper's family and the other people living in the settlement. Vegetable foods are not shared thus, since they can be got by all. Hospitality is given to visiting relatives, clansmen, age-mates (though they do not sleep with their host's wife), and even to stray travellers, once their good faith is established. Beer is drunk at social gatherings of men or women, at clan councils, and on ceremonial occasions. And just as meat is distributed in a particular way (p. 193), so with tobacco: a man who acquires some gives it first to his father, then to his wife's father, and lastly to his brothers and clansmen, if it will go as far. [402] [342] [241] [224] [224] [244] 592 421 574 273 276 [431]

The typical Dorobo hut, *kochonget*, is extremely simple, being no more than a framework of sticks covered with leaves, and a hide on top. They are now building larger and better huts of Nandi type, sometimes with unplastered walls; and an intermediate form may be seen, with a nearly flat roof. 342 [177]

D. THE MAGICO-RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF ECONOMIC

That the Dorobo had hunting magic is certain: old men say that some had it, while others had none; my friend Arap Minin, for example, says he was one of those who had none. Since hunting is the one phase of Dorobo life that appears to be gone for ever as a result of government action (in spite of sporadic individual activities), this important aspect is, I fear, irrecoverable. 224 [178] [648]

14.Huntingford E-S (1930-1939)1943
[P.196, B] FLS Dorobo FLS

important aspect is, I fear, irrecoverable. I have been in the forest in both wet and dry seasons, and while trapping is still carried on, I *could* see no sign of hunting (i.e. shooting), and the description of a hunt is from narration.[1] Fear of a government which forbids hunting, and has of late itself hunted the Dorobo, has, I think, effectually sealed the lips of one or two who would normally have spoken on the subject. My informants, however, did say that sexual intercourse was forbidden before setting out on a hunt, though not before or during the process of trapping. In hunting there is an element of personal danger and of uncertainty as to success; magic helps to give confidence, and abstinence to avert ill-luck. In trapping the process is mechanical, largely a matter of technological skill, and with little danger to the trapper, who is sure to catch something sooner or later.

On the other hand, it is believed that both *Asis* (god) and the *chesomiki* (both the good ancestral and the bad elemental) can influence a man's hunting, and before starting out to set a trap, he will say:

Asis, ipiyech paiyek,
God, give-us-enough meat,

or,

Chesomiik, okhuuch tiony ne kipare.
The-spirits, give-us a-beast which we-may-kill.

Honey (*kumiat*) is an important article of Dorobo diet, and provides both food and intoxicant: it is to them what milk is to a pastoral people. It is not stuff that can be picked up anywhere, but requires a certain technique, and, above all, the presence of bees in a suitable place. As, therefore, it has an actual social value, so it has acquired a ritual value, and certain observances are necessary if the supply of honey is not to fail. First, you must have your bees, and a man who has put up a new honey-barrel must take steps to ensure that it is inhabited. This he does by calling out, in an unnatural high-pitched voice, "Bees, bees, all you who are in this country, Come now and make honey here."

[1] Leopards, as already mentioned, are killed occasionally when they become aggressive and threaten livestock; but there are no organized leopard hunts, and in any case leopards are vermin.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Dorobo FL6

M 563 D 224

Before closing this chapter it may not be out of place to say a few words regarding a tribe of people whom I have referred to as the Andorobbo. This tribe—the Wa-ndorobbo of the Wa-swahili—is a small race of people scattered over Masai-land, who gain their entire livelihood by the chase. They neither keep cattle nor cultivate the land. The eatabaga, the buffalo, and the elephant supply them with such meat as they may desire, while they always find neighbouring tribes, less skilful in hunting, eager to exchange vegetable food for game. The elephant, however, seems to be their staple food, and as a rule the Andorobbo are to be found only where those animals abound; as, for instance, in the dense forests of Kenia and Kikuyu, the forest-clad escarpment of Mau, the top of Elgeyo, Maragwet, Chibcharagnani, Buru, Dondoli, &c. They are rarely found in numbers, and usually in very small villages, so that there is nothing like tribal life among them. They enjoy considerable immunity from attack by the Masai, as they are sources of wealth to the latter by attracting the coast traders; usually, too, the Masai fall heir to a considerable share of the ivory. They also act as go-betweens or middlemen in getting the married people the vegetable food they require. To such an extent is this system carried, that on the plateau to the east of Naivasha, at the place called by the traders Mienzi-ni, a very large village of Andorobbo have altogether given up hunting, and subsist entirely by buying vegetable food from the Wa-kikuyu and selling it again to the Masai, or it may be the traders.

D [131] [341] M 563 D 439

M 563 D 192 105

The language spoken by the Andorobbo is allied to that of the Masai, but they can all speak the latter in its purity. They build regular villages, and in general appearance they resemble the inferior class of the Masai. As I have already remarked, they make the buffalo-hide shields of the warriors, as well as the coarse earthen cooking-pots of the women. They are on the whole looked upon as a species of serf, and treated accordingly. Their transactions with the traders must be done secretly, or everything would be stolen from them.

D 224 711

In hunting the elephant the Andorobbo use a peculiar weapon. In shape it is like the runner of a canoe, the heavy head being intended to give additional weight in dealing a blow. In the thickened part is placed a weapon like a short but thick arrow, fifteen inches long, the head of the arrow being smeared over with the deadly poison of the *mwiya*. The whole spear is little short of eight feet. With this the

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Wa-kwafi
Dorobo FL6

elephant is attacked at close quarters, the arrow part driven into the great brute, and being loosely fixed in the handle, it remains when the latter is withdrawn. Another arrow is then affixed, and the same operation performed. It is said that an elephant will live a very short time after being thus stabbed, and entire herds are killed without one escaping, so dexterous and daring are these hunters. The Andorobbo also use the ordinary bow and arrow, but only for the smaller game.

D 224 411

CHAPTER XI.

THROUGH KAVIRONDO TO VICTORIA NYANZA.

M 101 184

THE people (Wa-kwafi) of Njempe presented an interesting study to the observer as throwing light upon the origin of the various small tribes which people Africa. Unquestionably Masai in race, and only separated from that tribe through the loss of their cattle and the consequent necessity of breaking their cherished convictions by cultivating the soil, they had developed new ideas, manners, and customs in a comparatively short period.

M 142 184

They did not by any means supply an argument in favour of the vegetarians; for in personal appearance they had distinctly degenerated, and could not for a moment compete with their aristocratic carnivorous brethren of Lykipia. This was especially noticeable among the women, who had lost their slender, *genteel* shape and acquired the ill-proportioned, unwieldy contour of the negress. Perhaps an exception might be made in favour of the young women, many of whom were well-formed and characterized by most pleasing and interesting manners.

M 361

The colony consisted of two villages—Njempe of Guaso Tigirish, close to our camp, and Njempe of Guaso na Nyuki.

M 342 351

The houses were of the beehive order, with floors beneath the level of the ground, very small and badly built. They were surrounded by a double fence of thorns, which, however, are a greater source of danger than of protection, as in this dry climate they become like tinder, and consequently can be set on fire easily. If this were done at several points simultaneously, the inhabitants could easily be burned to death.

M 184

In a hazy sort of way they tried to keep up the distinction

18: Merker--10 G-5 (1896-ca.1908) 1910 PL12 Masai PL12
Ewafi
Dorobo PL8

/1/

M 174 In three mighty corps that followed one another at long intervals, the Masai people came from the north drawn toward the
D 174 equator. The long separation from one another in space and time, their different length of residence in the new East African homeland, and the different shaping of their fate conditioned by that make them appear to us today as three branches of the Masai people.

D 174 [101] The remnants of the earliest immigrant band are the Aaá, more generally known under the name of Wandorobbo /Wandorobbo/ (a Bantu formation from the Masai word El dorobo : the poor), of whom they form only a part.

D [233] Although the tradition of the Aaá has nothing to say about a former possession of livestock, one must nevertheless assume, especially on the basis of their ethnography, that they immigrated as stock-raising nomads and, as such, took possession of large parts
D [648] of the steppes. Wars among themselves, livestock epidemics, and, finally, the pressure by the Taturga weakened the Aaá to such an extent that it was easy for the second band of Masai, the El kuafi, the first sections of which were the El kuruboa, and the later ones the El mulli, when it came in, to drive out the ruined ones alto-
D [224] gether. A part of them found refuge among the neighboring agri-
[735] culturalists, with whom they merged, another part among their oppressors, who adopted them as members of the tribe: the rest, however, withdrew into the forests and bush of the steppes, where still today, in great poverty, they make a poor living by hunting.

M 174 184 648 [731] The fate of the Aaá, however, was not to be spared the El kuafi either. After a rather long period during which they competed with the Taturga for dominion in the steppes, the rinderpest appeared again several times and, as before, brought poverty and death. And again, as before, the one misfortune did not remain alone. The third band, the El mûsi (sing. ol mûsi), immigrated here from the north, and it looked as though it would rapidly complete, by means of bloody fighting, the destructive work of the epidemics. But the presence of the Taturga, who in places were just as powerful as they were feared, diverted the bellicosity of the Masai. They joined the El kuafi for the common fight against the former.

/229 cont./

184 The fact that in many things the Asá served as a model for the latter two and that the El aalti also often designate themselves as Asá follows
• [224] from the circumstances. They are both merely /230/ hunters, whereas
[233] among the El gamurak the tendency toward animal husbandry has still been preserved here and there.

128 In the following, for obvious reasons, only the Asá will be discussed.
197 Therefore the accompanying native words have been taken from the Asá idiom.

613 The fact that the Asá are divided into the same tribes and lineages
219 as the Masai and Wakuafi and that they also regard the ol oiboni[A] as
291 their chief has already been mentioned at the beginning. It is to be
171
000

142
291
411

Kurtz phot.

Ill. 60. Wanderóbo men.

[A] 1. [i.e., the chief of the Masai people--Analyst]

/230 cont./ It is to be
613 noted, however, that there seems to be no El kiboron among the Asá,
171 as is shown by both the consistent assertions of the people and the observations of the author, who did not find any members of that lineage among them anywhere. The respect and esteem that the El kiboron enjoy among all the Masai people sufficiently explains the fact that, with the displacement of the Wandorobo at the time, they were adopted into the community of the oppressors.

/231/ II.

000 Plan and arrangement of the camp. -- The huts. -- Household equipment. -- Daily life, food, work. -- Earthen pots. -- Baskets. -- Leather dressing. -- Market trade. -- Honey extraction. -- Manufacture of bows and arrows. -- Spears. -- Dance and song.

361 The Asá roam the steppes as hunters, in that they wander with
[224] the game, whose meat gives them food and out of whose skins they
[237] make their clothing. This circumstance brings along with it the fact that they can not live together in large kraals, but rather, divided into small bands, are forced to stay here today and in a
[342] distant place a few weeks later. Accordingly, their camps (aijo) only consist of hastily built small huts (morõg) that are made out of branches and grass. The camps as a rule are hidden in dense
[487] bush and have no special enclosure. The paths and game runs leading to them are carefully barricaded with thorn branches and thus made inaccessible. Only the practiced eye of the Asá will find the wonderfully concealed entrance to the camp.

621 Only two or three families, rarely a few more, usually live in
[591] one camp. Next to their huts are found those in which the unmarried circumcised men (dobonog) live with the young girls. As among
[192] the Masai, each young man has his favorite girl. He calls her
[171] sanjet uan, she calls him sanjeg uan, words in which one again finds the Masai word sandja. Their huts are designated as morog

/231 cont./

621 to dobonog, i.e., huts of the unmarried men, in contrast to the
[192] aija to daĩma, the camp of the married. Therefore here, too, we
[171] find, even in the name, a separation into kraal of the married and kraal of the warriors, similar to the one mentioned for the Masai.

171 The arrangement of the interior of the hut, like the form itself,
353 resembles that of the Masai; its furnishings, however, are even
415 sparser. A honey pot (madjé, madjeog), a gourd bottle (mget) for
237 drinking water and honey beer, a leather bag (lebenu, lebenua)
283 for collecting honey, a larger one (ndaro, ndareraũg) for water, a
352 few earthen pots, larger ones (idug, idia) and smaller ones (ruguba,
412 ruguba) for cooking, a couple of wooden bowls (tagi), a rope cut out of an animal skin (scharu, schâruga) to tie up the slain meat, a cord twisted out of the bark fibers of the baobab (Adansonia digitata) for the drawing up and letting down of the beehives hung in trees (meriñgo), along with a few dehaired skins (fulót) that serve as beds, as well as ax (haũo, hauereg) and knife (pandyug), constitute the
492 principal household equipment. In a few huts one also finds the en
412 dereta /pack-holders/ of the Masai, here called lalaho (leleweg),
413 as well as a hammer (giribêt) for forging and a chisel for designing
177 the arrow points (mad, mara), and finally that sharpened small piece of sheet iron serving as razor-knife (herá, hererá). The entire family,
592 namely, husband, wife or wives, and the uncircumcised children, live in one /232/ hut. Men and boys, however, are usually out.
512 The day begins even before daybreak for the hunting men. They
[224] set out with a snack consisting of a little piece of boiled or roasted
[264] meat, so that the first light of day already finds them in the hunting
[825] grounds. The game now behaves best; as they say, it then feeds more eagerly and carelessly than a few hours later, when the sun already becomes annoying to it. At daybreak women and children leave the huts; firewood and water are carried up in order to cook
[251] the meat fetched from a larder located in a nearby tree. The meat is kept there and not in the camp, so that it hangs in the air and
512 thus remains fresh longer. After that the morning meal is eaten.
264 Actually the Wandorobo do not have definite mealtimes: as long as there is something edible they simply eat as long as they can.

/239 cont./

IV.

000 Marital relations. -- Polygyny. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Conversion of the young men to the state of the married. -- Bride price. -- Forcing the consent of the father of the bride. -- Exchange of wives. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Entering into marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

595 The marital relations also offer little that is new. Polygyny exists only to a limited extent; most of the people are too poor to acquire and support more than one wife; only a few have two wives, 584 and if a man has three of them it is a rarity. Betrothal in earliest 171 childhood seem to be more frequent here than among the Masai, but no more binding and without legal consequences. As a rule after circumcision the youth is betrothed to a girl eight to ten years old, after his father has proposed for him to her parents. As among the Masai, the /240/ betrothed persons live apart and may not even see each other. The bridegroom lives with a girl in the one camp, and [836] in the other, the bride with another youth. If the bride becomes [848] pregnant before the wedding, dissolution of the betrothal does not [684] always take place, as among the Masai, but rather the one who made her pregnant must reimburse the bridegroom by the payment of a head of cattle.

561 Here, just as among the Masai, the young men of an age class 582 together decide upon their entering the standing of the married, and 574 their fellow campmates confirm this intention by a feast corresponding to the ol geteñ l ol bɛ, in which friends and neighbors participate. [273] They are served game and honey beer, the latter of which, however, the marriage candidates may not yet drink. They like to set the [224] feast for the day after a successful elephant hunt, so that the guests can feast heartily on meat.

583 Before marriage can be entered into, the bride price is to be [439] paid. The bridegroom usually gives the father of the bride, even before her circumcision, five pots of honey and five beehives, and, soon after her circumcision, half of a slain female elephant with the tusk that belongs to it; furthermore, two head of cattle, which

/241 cont./

V.

000 Pregnancy. -- Behavior of the pregnant woman and her husband. -- Care and treatment of the pregnant woman, the woman in labor, and the woman in childbed. -- Killing newborn children. -- Fertility. -- Child mortality.

843 [842] [824] The opinion that the author heard expressed a number of times by Asá-Wandorobo, that pregnancy is more or less bound up with a definite time of year, and, to be sure, in such a way that either conception takes place at blossom time or birth takes place at the time of the fruitage of the poisonous tree Acocanthera abyssinica, appears surprising.

[224] /242/ During his wife's pregnancy the husband does not pursue a game animal shot at in hunting, because it is believed that the latter, at his approach, will resist the poison and escape. Therefore, after he has shot an animal, he returns to the camp and from there sends another man out to look for the animal. The pregnant woman [825] may not be beaten. Neither he nor the pregnant wife may step over a procession of migrating ants. She is forbidden to eat meat from a wild animal that died or was killed by a predatory animal, likewise soup, and furthermore honey in which dead bee larvae are found. She must avoid coming near a chameleon or a snake, or exposing herself to the heat of the sun for any length of time. All this, in the opinion of the Asá, would harm the fetus.

[302] [202] If the woman visits another camp, she smears her forehead with white clay beforehand in order to announce her condition to its occupants. On the way there she is accompanied by a little girl, [858] [825] whom she leads by the hand. As the reason for this, the people say that a miscarriage would take place if the woman went without a girl and on the way saw the previously mentioned weaver bird or heard its dil-dil-dil calls. A woman pregnant for the first time is 843 431 given gifts by all the people (men, women, boys, girls) of the camp and her friends in the neighboring camps at about the middle of her pregnancy. She is presented with a leather apron, a pair of ear pendants, beads, chains, or even a head of small livestock.

/243 cont./

551 named after the oldest living child. Among the Asá one likewise finds the custom whereby the son, after the father's death, is called by his name.

/244/ VII.

000 Circumcision of the boys. -- Age classes. -- Organization of the circumcised young men. -- Circumcision of the girls.

881 171 561 The circumcision of the boys and girls is exactly the same as among the Masai and takes place at the same time as that of the Masai boys. The newly circumcised boys (bogodendet, bogododig) form an age class (ebindadet), which borrows its name from that of 56 17 the Masai. For two to three years after their circumcision the boys are called barnotig (sing. barnotendet), corresponding to the el barnot of the Masai. When the latter become el móran, the former correspondingly become dobonog (sing. dobonatog), and later, with their marriage, daĕma (sing. daĕmog), corresponding to the el moruak of [291] the Masai. The bogododig dress exactly like the es sibolio, and, like [223] them, they set out to hunt small birds, with the skins of which they adorn themselves. When the corresponding age class (ol boror) of the Masai gets a new name, that of the Asá adopts it also. They [178] cling to their old customs even when their present mode of life makes [791] them unnecessary. The reason the Wandorobo have no names of their own for the age classes is -- also according to their own explanation -- that the ol oiboni,[1] whom the Asá also call ndĕarug, does not give them any and would regard it as extremely audacious if these poor, despised people came to him with such a request. The ebindadet also choose their head -- the ol aunoni of the Masai -- who here is called njīg or kisiridjo or also aunoni. As among the Masai, this is an honorary position without duties, but here without any privileges [692] either. Here the kirua kidet, whose task is chiefly to settle disputes, corresponds to the ol aigwenani of the Masai. The kirigit corresponds [224] to the ol oiñoni of the Masai. He is the leader in hunting, especially [555] on larger expeditions, which often lead the young Wandorobo in pursuit of elephants far from their camp. Only one who, in hunting

1, [Chief of the Masai people, and according to Merker, also chief of the Asa--Analyst]

561 /244 cont./
171 elephants, buffalo, and lions, has distinguished himself through
• 224 courage and decisiveness and who shows these qualities anew again
555 and again is elected kirigit.

881 About the circumcision of the girls, it is only to be said that, adorned, a few days before the operation they set out for the neighboring camps to bid farewell to their younger girl friends. On these
[425] visits they are permitted to appropriate anything that they wish (food, clothing, ornaments, etc.), without special permission from the owners.

Concerning the reason for the circumcision the Asá also say that God commanded them to undertake this on their children.

/245/ VIII.

000 Hunting. -- The weapons, bow, arrow, hunting spear. -- Ownership marks. -- Preparation and effect of the arrow poison. -- Treatment of arrow wounds. -- Stalking. -- Hunting dogs. -- Station. -- Battue hunting. -- Practice of hunting. -- Game. -- Superstition, -- Meat meals of the hunters in the bush.

411 For the dobonog of the Wandorobo hunting is what war is for the
[561] El móran of the Masai. Their principal weapons are bow and arrow.
[224] The two-sided bow ([Fig. 83] gari, geleweg) has the shape of a flattened segment of a circle. It is as a rule 1.50 meters long and very sharply flexible. With it belongs a leather quiver ([Fig. 85] madiet, madimoig) with arrows ([Fig. 84] mat, mara). The wooden arrow-shaft bears a small notch on its rear end for setting it on the bow string, and directly in front of it the three-part feathering (haiya).
[439] The iron point, which the Wandorobo usually buy from Wakuafi and Masai blacksmiths, but also from sedentary Negroes, and more

/245 cont./

411 [439] rarely also make themselves, as a rule has the so-called arrow shape. It bears either a short, flat tang, which is lengthened by insertion into a cylindrical one ten centimeters long, or else the latter and the point are worked continuously out of one piece. Now an and then one also finds arrows among which the extension tang is made out of wood. These come from Ukamba, where the Wandorobo, who call them mijerá, have bought them. The tang is stuck loosely in the arrow shaft so that the latter can fall off when the animal has been hit. Less frequently they use wooden throwing-spears (Fig. 86) with a loosely inserted, poisoned iron point, which, like the arrow point, remains sticking in the animal hit, while the wooden shaft falls off. They also attack the sleeping rhinoceros and hippopotamus with a sharp sword, which they tie on a stick and use as a thrusting or throwing spear. One leaves this weapon sticking in the wound so that, if the animal flees, it cuts the entrails still more by striking on the ground and against the bushes. Both types of spear are called muschúg. Both the point and tang of arrows and throwing spears bear a filed-in ownership mark (Plates 5 and 6), by which one can recognize tribe and lineage of the owner, in order, upon finding a slain head of game, to determine its hunter. Like the ownership marks on the cattle and donkeys of the Masai, the symbols here are not the same for all Wandorobo, but vary more or less in the individual

[439] →

Fig. 85. (1/10)

[224] 422 [411] [224]

Fig. 86. (1/10)

278 562 834 [888]

/247 cont./

arrows, not in the hut, but hung on a tree not far from the camp. Only in rainy weather do they bring the things into the kraal and keep them there in the hut of an old woman who herself, in their view, can no longer come into consideration in the above respect. They even make themselves responsible, relative to the intensity of the sexual intercourse, for the slow dying of the animal struck by the poisoned arrow. The poison is smeared on the arrow point with a wooden spatula, and, in order to protect the dried substance from crumbling or from dissolving in damp weather (since it is very hygroscopic), it is wrapped with a strip of thin antelope skin that is dehaired and made soft by being rubbed with fat. The poison acts very quickly, and, to be sure, by suddenly stopping the heart activity. In the case of a genet shot in the abdomen, breathing difficulty set in after five minutes, along with rapid movements of the nostrils and violent, cramplike muscle twitchings of the body and limbs. With brief interruptions of a quarter to a third of a minute the symptoms were repeated and increased in intensity. The pupils dilated to a circle. Nine minutes and 18 seconds after the shot the pupils, up to then blue-black, suddenly became sea-green, and, with violent twitching, death came. With quite fresh poison death is supposed to come in even a shorter time. In the steppe the poison is tested by shooting an antelope with an arrow newly poisoned. If on the trail of the fleeing animal one finds fresh urine and excrement, the poison is regarded as acting too weakly. Good poison put in the foot of a live turtle must lead to its death before it has crawled five or six steps away. Neither the Asá nor the Wandorobo are acquainted with a physiological antidote. For smaller, simple, and penetrating flesh wounds immediate washing with fresh urine is supposed to help. Aged Wandorobo often showed me scars on their own bodies, especially on arms and legs, which are supposed to have been caused by shots with poisoned arrows two to four centimeters deep. Both the appearance of the scars and the corresponding statements of people, which were separated in time and place from the former, corroborate this information.

278 411 224 [230] [281]

278 752

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278 415 252 [411] 224 [634] [631] When the cooking of the poison is finished, the pot is cleaned with sand and water and used again for the preparation of food. The arrow point is thoroughly cleaned, heated red-hot, and poisoned anew.

The region in question for hunting has been divided by the El dorobo into definite districts, each of which may be hunted in only the community of its inhabitants. A district, in turn, consists of a number of precincts, whose grassy plains are burned off in a sequence following from their location, the weather conditions, etc. The wild animals then gather to graze on the grass soon freshly sprouting after the burning. This management explains why the hunter is only rarely /248/ forced to return home without booty and why he is able to feed his family continuously and regularly from the yields of his hunting.

The game in general in East Africa is game frequenting the same spot; but the meaning of this statement must be modified in accordance with the relatively enormously large areas here. Just as in Germany a hunter expects a herd of deer at a particular time on a particular knoll, the ol doroboni can quite certainly count on finding the game expected by him at the appropriate time in a region whose diameter amounts to approximately 3-5 kilometers. Considerable disturbances [136] are caused, of course, by the appearance of large predatory animals, especially lions almost always hunting in herds and the hyena dogs always hunting together in larger numbers.

In practicing hunting the men split up in such a way that the younger ones do the stalking on the open steppe, whereas the older ones lie in wait at the watering places of the game. Stalking requires incomparably greater endurance and skill than at home. The ol doroboni must more accurately watch the wind, since his own strong odor makes it extremely easy for the animal to pick up the scent. He must take the greatest pains to conceal himself from the sight of the animal, since he is unfamiliar with any kind of adaptation to the region and the surroundings, so that his black body stands out clearly, even at great distances, on the usually light yellow steppe. The difficulty of the rush is further increased by the primitive nature of his weapons, which permit him to make an accurate shot only at 20 to 30 meters. In what concerns the patience, perseverence, and dexterity that the Wandorobo show in this, a European hunter can

/248 cont./

224 scarcely match himself with them. Frequently, not regularly, the
224 hunter uses a dog in stalking. Set on the trail, it leads its master
231 until the latter sees the game. Then the hunter takes off his leather apron and, while he now creeps up on the game, the dog remains lying beside the apron. As soon as the game has been hit by the poison arrow, the dog is again set on the trail and follows the wounded animal until it goes down. Then it returns and proves itself as death-warner. The hunter now leaves the dog as guard over the slain piece of game, and he himself goes to the camp in order to fetch people to carry home the meat. The Wandorobo either raise the dogs themselves or buy them. One finds two or three of them in every camp. They are regularly taken along on larger expeditions, in order, through their vigilance, to protect from predatory animals the ones camping in the wilderness. The dogs, still young, are led off to where one catches kids. The children then train themselves in shooting the bow
224 and the dogs on the blood trail. At his station near the watering place the hunter makes a small cover for himself out of two branches, which stand a meter apart and are connected with twigs and grass. Crouching behind this, he waits for the game coming to drink, which often approaches individually at very brief intervals, often also in whole herds. According to /249/ statements of the Wandorobo, black-heeled antelope, waterbuck, and wild pigs often come early in the morning; giraffes and elephants come at night. The latter, however, also during the day and, like the rest of the wild animals, toward evening. The antelopes below the size of a small roe supposedly almost never go to the watering places. The hunter first lets the game drink a few moments before he shoots. As soon as the animal has been hit with the arrow, it flees. The other animals, so the ol doroboni relates, think that the wounded one has been stung by an insect and remain quiet. The hunter shoots a second one and a third. Only then do the animals realize where the danger comes from, and all take flight, whereupon he shoots once or twice more. Then he returns to the camp and sends boys back after the wounded animals.

18: Merker--330 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai
Dorobo FL8
Asa

/249 cont./

• 224

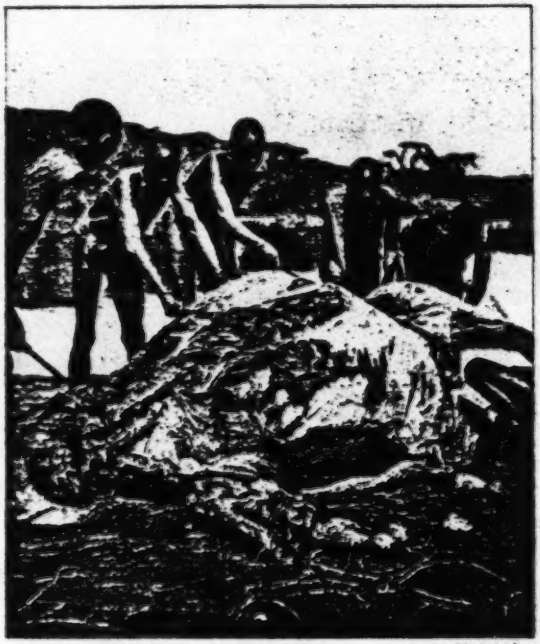
Ill. 61. Wanderobo cutting up a hippopotamus.

From time to time battue hunts are also organized. For this, people like to choose a region where two small streams prevent the game from breaking out laterally to the battue direction. Already at sunrise the game has been surrounded at the rear, and, to be sure, by boys and young men, who now, by shouting and waving scraps of cloth or leather, which are tied to the bow sticks, drive it toward the row of archers, who have buried themselves up to the hips.

A sportsmanlike practice of hunting is completely foreign to the people. Unscrupulously they shoot the calf and the gravid mother animal. The sole purpose of their hunting is to obtain meat. They do not use nooses, pits, spring guns, and traps, for in this way slain game would only /250/ fall prey to predatory animals. The extermination of the vermin is also little to their liking. They loathe its meat -- only the Wandorobo living on the Donjo Kissale are said to eat lions occasionally -- and its extermination seems unnecessary to them in view of the huge multitudes of the constantly changing game. Only the predatory animals dangerous to human beings, primarily the lion, leopard, and hyena, are shot if one happens to encounter them. If a lion makes the surroundings of the camp

[262]

/250 cont./
224 unsafe for several days, the men lie outside the latter in wait at night,



Merker phot.

Ill. 62. Wanderobo cutting up a hippopotamus.

in order to kill it with spears. They do not consider it possible to kill it by laying out meat bait in which arrow poison has been put. Several persons maintained that they had tried it in vain and believe that the lion smells the poison.

As far as the quality of the game is concerned, they are otherwise very easily satisfied. They no more scorn the coarse-fibered 224 262 meat of the heavy pachyderms than the high flavor of an elephant carcass several days old, which even /251/ their giant stomach could not master at the first attempt. Like the predatory animals,

/251 cont./

224 262 they particularly value the entrails and also do not scorn the meat of fallen or stricken animals; indeed, even the skin of elephant, rhinoceros, and hippopotamus is eaten roasted. As huntable, i.e., here [223] [439] edible, the Wandorobo regard elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, pigs, zebras, all cloven-footed animals from the giraffe to the tiny dwarf antelope, hares, rock rabbits, and, of the birds, the ostrich, which, however, they shoot only on account of its feathers, which the Masai like to buy for the manufacture of the war head-ornaments. They do not hunt monkeys and lower animals, because they do not relish their meat.

224 On the day before the new moon, and in places also on the seventeenth day, the ol onjugi, no one goes hunting, because, according to popular belief, one would not kill anything on the former day, [825] [777] whereas on the latter the bow would break. The red-headed Anaplectes melanotis is regarded as unlucky for the hunter. If the hunter sees it along the way he returns to camp immediately and does not leave it again until several hours later, in order to try his luck anew.

561 264 171 [178] Like the warriors of the Masai, the dobonog of the Wandorobo also hold their meat meals in the forest. Whereas among the former, however, these are a result of the food rules, according to which the warrior may not eat meat in the kraal, among the latter it is only a matter of observing an ancient custom for which there is no longer any reason today, since the unmarried man usually eats his meat food in the hut. On the other hand, there is greater justification for retaining [262] [224] the en dorós, where they strengthen themselves by a plentiful eating of meat for a larger hunting expedition for more distant and at the same time dangerous game, such as elephants and buffalo. The [263] [276] many spices and stimulants that we became acquainted with among the Masai are also used by the Wandorobo, but to a far lesser extent. They do not divide up into fellowships for the meals in the bush, but 561 224 only for the hunting expeditions. Each company, as a rule, consists of four men and is called e sirdet, in which one recognizes the present Masai word es sirit. The booty is divided among the participants in [574] equal parts. If an individual hunter or an e sirdet spends the night in a strange camp, the host is given a foreleg and a hind leg of the hunting booty.

/257 cont./

802 Their own words seem not to extend any farther. According to the author's observations, the Wandorobo use these number words especially in counting the pieces of game killed on a hunting expedition, the captured elephant tusks and rhinoceros horns.

[192] [171] What was said about the Masai holds for their ability in reckoning. The Wandorobo designate the fingers usually with the names that the Masai have for them. Of their own designations they know only seŋgetok for finger and sengelá for the hand.

Ordinals are formed from the basic numbers through the addition of the word sătĭsch or kărătĭsch. The first, kinde satisch; the second, ɁIam satisch; the /258/ third satisch sama'; the fourth, satisch hag; the fifth, satisch mut, or kinde karatisch, ɁIam a karatisch. These [192] [171] designations seem to be used only very rarely, in their place people prefer to use those of the Masai language. The Wandorobo express fractions in a way similar to that of the Masai. For multiplication they use the word sigá. Once is called siga kinde; twice, siga ɁIam; three times, siga sama'; four times, siga hag; five times, siga mut, etc.

805 192 For seasons and months they do not have any designations of their own and even use those of the Masai only very rarely, since they do not know any need for them. Of the days they name only the last one • [224] of the month, leheg tagarawasch, on which they do not go hunting. On the other hand, they designate the times of the day with their own words in the following way:

The hour before sunrise, when it is still dark: demog dádi.
As soon as it becomes somewhat light: erená saha.
Sunrise: adjid sauaschasch.
Ten o'clock in the morning: schirahōg.
Twelve noon: adj'odá.
Two o'clock in the afternoon: sadji foa.
Afternoon, particularly the time up to five o'clock: haia.
The time from five o'clock to sunset: adjid saduisch.
Twilight: tara.
Night: e ramesá.

/259 cont./

782 796 842 From time to time the people celebrate a supplication feast for Uɛ̃d, which they call korodjeg or koroseg. For a koroseg a hawa, a feast to ask God for children, the married women station themselves in a circle around a small fire into which, just as for every other supplication feast, they strew the residue of the honey beer, consisting chiefly of wax particles, so that its fragrance will rise up to God. While an aged, respected man goes around the circle and sprinkles those present with honey beer, they sing: Uɛ̃d nge hawa! After this has gone on for a quarter of an hour, they start to dance, continuing to sing the same words. [504] [273] The dance is followed by a meal at which meat and honey beer are consumed. At a koroseg e aga they ask God for meat. Beside a small fire they place upright a straight branch with several forks at the top, the 782 796 twigs of which are cut off short. The empty stick is supposed to show God that they do not have any meat. All the campmates station themselves around the fire and sing: Uɛ̃d ngeri' magat (magat = game). The next morning the hunters set out, and as soon as they bring home meat, a small piece is placed on each twig of the forks of the branch. Again all surround the newly kindled fire and now sing: Uɛ̃d urag haiug ara, which is to say: God, give us still more food. The men celebrate another supplication feast before a larger hunting expedition. In the middle of the camp a small fire is made, around which the men stand [824] in a circle. Each one has the bow in the left hand, a twig of the olti tree (Acacia mellifera) in the right one. Then, going around to the left, they walk around the fire four times, during which they sing: Uɛ̃d ngeri' magat. They maintain that they have never yet prayed in this way in vain, but that after a koroseg e aga they always returned from hunting 789 with rich booty. The Wandorobo do not have a feast corresponding to the ol ogor 1 ol geretti.[1] Rather, without special ceremonies, they cut [796] a strip out of the hide of an animal just slain and wear it as an amulet around the right middle finger. As soon as they meet something along [782] the way that makes them afraid, be it a predatory animal or an enemy, they blow on the hide strip, which is the equivalent of a prayer for protection. Other amulets are seen extremely rarely. The author saw only one, which they called tuturo and which consisted of a small piece of root. It was worn on the neck ring and was supposed to protect one from predatory animals. If individual persons spend the night

1, [A supplication feast conducted by the Masai to preserve the health of human beings and livestock--Analyst]

/259 cont./

789 outside the camp in the steppe, or must leave a slain piece of game /260/ outside during the night, they walk around the spot, before the approach of darkness, with a burning twig of the mondeja bush. They assert that if one has done this, no predatory animal can approach.

789 531 411 224 On the bow end held diagonally upward in shooting, one frequently finds a design like a sentry box, which, in the belief of the people, God himself taught them long ago, and which is supposed to have the effect that in hunting they will kill only fat game.

754 [171] The nature of the sorcery through which sickness and death can be brought about they explain like the Masai. Evil, superterrestrial spirits have nothing to do with it. It is solely the work of evil human beings, who are despised, feared, and therefore expelled; they are called schogoto, in which one recognizes the Masai word ol osokutoni. Persons with the evil eye, who are called gallagumma, are likewise hated and expelled. If one knows no natural cause for an illness or a sudden death, it is regarded as the work of these sorcerers.

XV.

000 Law. -- General remarks. -- Property. -- Sharing the hunting booty. -- Things found. -- Barter. -- Debts. -- Liability. -- Gift. -- Blood friendship. -- Murder and manslaughter. -- Negligent homicide. -- Bodily injury. -- Immoral offenses. -- Theft. -- Inquiry about an unknown culprit. -- Legal procedure. -- Swearing. -- Torture. -- Ordeals. -- Bier test. -- Woman before justice. -- Mentally ill.

671 171 The legal views and legal practices of the Asá in general resemble those of the Masai.[1] We find the same leading ideas everywhere. Here, too, might often comes before right, even if not to the same extent as there.

692 [614] [648] There is nothing new to be said about the rights of families and persons. The sole court in litigation is a respected man chosen by both parties, if plaintiff and defendant belong to the same tribe. Litigation or criminal cases in which plaintiff and defendant belong to two different tribes are not settled by the Wandorobo among themselves, but handed over to the Masai of the nearest kraal for settlement. A prosecution of punishable offenses by legal steps is unknown.

1. [For information on legal views of the Masai, see FL12 Masai, 18:Merker, category 116, pp.279-291--Analyst]

423 /260 cont./
The individual person does not have an exclusive right to land or to the use of hunting grounds. Rather, both are common property.
• 224 421 Only one half of any slain game down to the size of a medium antelope belongs to the hunter and his campmates together, while the other half of a male animal is given to the members of his lineage, those of a female one to the relatives of his wife or wives: in both cases: insofar as those entitled to receive it live in the immediate vicinity. Of the two tusks (ligatok, ligasch) of the elephant each
[178] receives half. Recently, the large teeth of the hippopotamus have been shared in the same manner, whereas formerly /261/ they were left lying, along with the bones. For the horns (hadong, hadama) of the rhinoceros the hunter receives in exchange poison or arrow points and then distributes these things among the people who previously were to share the meat of the animal. The hides of the slain game belong to the hunter.

All smaller game belongs entirely to the hunter and his campmates.

421 Property belongs to the single individual, not to the family
425 community. A lost article is returned to the owner, without the finder's claiming a reward. There is no punishment for the appropriation of found articles.

43 There is no general medium of exchange. Money has not yet been adopted anywhere. Goods are always exchanged for goods. For ivory the caravan people pay cattle, goats, sheep, iron wire, beads, fabrics. In the individual barter transaction the Wandorobo never want one kind of goods above, but always several, and of the inanimate ones as many different kinds as possible. The exchange takes place with immediate delivery and is made valid by spitting on the objects. Only exceptionally is a brief delay granted for a
452 small part of the payment. The creditor seeks to have himself paid
426 by a dilatory debtor through self-help, and only if he has no success with that does he make a complaint. It not infrequently happens
[583] that the creditor takes a small daughter of the debtor as security, and a marriageable one as a wife; in the latter instance, he deducts the amount of the debt from the bride price. The debtor's heir is liable,
[672] and, to be sure, for the entire debt. With the debtor's inability to pay, the warrantor is liable, if -- which is seldom the case -- one is present at all. The heir of the warrantor is also liable.

/263 cont./

695 besides the ordeals, the hiss test also prevails as a means of convicting the one accused. In contrast to the Masai, here the innocent one accused receives no compensation.

562 694 695 Women may appear as witnesses before the court, but they are not entitled to make a complaint: rather, their husbands make the complaint for them.

672 934 Here, too, the mentally ill occupy an exceptional position in legal matters, /264/ in that they remain unpunished for offenses that are atoned for by fines. They are not chained, but are allowed to go about freely, and, as long as they are harmless, they are given shelter and food. This is denied to the mentally ill who are dangerous, because of which they quickly perish.

XVI.

000 The story of the discovery of arrow poison. -- Other stories and fables.

538 The stories of the Wandorobbo describe for the most part their own hunting experiences, especially, of course, those of a peculiar nature and with large, dangerous game. It is probably to be taken for granted that in this "hunter's yarns" also run through them.

The Discovery of Arrow Poison

539 252 253 278 411 A poor widow, whom no one wanted to take in and feed, steamed steppe and bush daily, in order to appease her hunger miserably with roots, berries, and tree bark. One day she chewed on a small piece of bark that was distinguished by a very bad taste. Soon afterwards vomiting set in so violently that she was sick for a few days. She thought: "I should probably have died if I had eaten any more of it; since I can not hunt game, perhaps I can kill it with this." When she was well again, she went with her pot to the place in the steppe where in a rocky basin there was water to which the wild animals came to drink. Here, for several days in succession, she boiled the wood of the poison bush and kept pouring the liquid into the little pool. Finally one morning she found ten dead buffalo lying in the

/264 cont./

539 224 278 411 vicinity. She ran to the camp in order to fetch men so that they would carry the meat home. When they saw the dead buffalo, they could not understand how it had been possible to kill so many at once. Then the woman told them how she had done it, and now they praised her as the best and cleverest of women and everyone wanted to marry her. After the woman had showed them how to prepare the poison, they made it themselves and smeared their hunting arrows with it.

Some Stories and Fables

539 An ol dorobosi shot a giraffe, and since it was evening and he was far from camp, he stayed with the animal during the night. He wanted to stay awake because of the predatory animals that were to be expected, but weariness overcame him. In his dream he saw a lion creeping up. He woke up with a cry of fear. Still half asleep, he took his own leg for the lion and hit it with his knife with all his strength. His campmates, who had set out to look for him, found him with a large wound the next day in the steppe and carried him home.

/265/ An ol dorobosi found in the steppe an antelope that he took to be dead. He laid bow and quiver beside the animal and started to skin it. After he had already made two cuts on the belly side, the animal leaped up and ran away with the knife in its body.

A father went hunting every day with his boy. For a long time they were lucky and brought booty home every day. But then there came a time when they did not succeed in killing even a single animal. One day, when they had again walked in vain, they camped far from their hut in the open steppe. In order to warm themselves, they made a fire. Hunger tormented both of them terribly. Then there came to the old man the idea of killing his son and appeasing his hunger with the corpse. He said to the boy: "Go and fetch fire-wood so that the fire will be bigger." The boy did as he was told.